



Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-237
Monday
13 December 1993

Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-237

CONTENTS

13 December 1993

12 DECEMBER RUSSIAN ELECTIONS

Pre-Election Activities

Chernomyrdin Interviewed on Elections 10 Dec [Radio Rossii]	1
Discusses Elections With Yeltsin [Russian TV]	2
Poltorinin Comments on 10 Dec Polls [INTERFAX]	2
Ryabov Issues Appeal to Electorate on Referendum Vote [ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 10 Dec]	2
Further on Appeal [Russian TV]	3
Electoral Commission Appeal on Canvassing Prohibition [ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 11 Dec]	4
Further Commission Appeal [Radio Rossii]	4
Electoral Panel Decree on Election Regulations [ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 10 Dec]	4
Central Electoral Panel Decree, Information [ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 10 Dec]	5
Electoral Commission Gives Number of State Duma Candidates [Moscow Radio]	6
TV Plans for Coverage of Election Results Reported [IZVESTIYA 10 Dec]	6
TV Journalists on Format for Campaign Debates [IZVESTIYA 10 Dec]	7
Defamation of Travkin Party Candidate Denied [IZVESTIYA 11 Dec]	8
Further on IZVESTIYA Article [ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 11 Dec]	8
North Ossetian State of Emergency Lifted for Election [ITAR-TASS]	9
Polls To Have No 'Legal Consequences' for Chechnya [ITAR-TASS]	9
Tuva Bets on Constitution; Chechens Prepare for War [SEGODNYA 11 Dec]	9
Russia's Choice Activities Before Election Reported	10
Gaydar Criticizes Democrats [SEGODNYA 10 Dec]	10
Russia's Choice Scored Over Tactics [NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 10 Dec]	10
Party Issues Appeal to Voters [Moscow Radio]	11
Fedorov Rejects Prospect of Coalition [IZVESTIYA 11 Dec]	12
Zhirinovskiy, LDPR Continue Campaign Activities	13
Issues Statement [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 10 Dec]	13
2d Place 'Likely' in Krasnodar [SEGODNYA 11 Dec]	14
Claims He Will Get 50% of Vote [INTERFAX]	15
Ostankino Carries Zhirinovskiy Film [Moscow TV]	15
Zhirinovskiy Spoof Aired [Russian TV]	16
Activities of CP's Zyuganov Before 12 Dec Reported	17
Gives Plan To Overcome Crisis [ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 9 Dec]	17
Appeals for Soldiers' Votes [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 10 Dec]	18
Communists Disagree With Allies [SEGODNYA 11 Dec]	19
Communists To Cooperate With Factions [Moscow International]	19
Zyuganov Gives Foreign Policy Platform [PRAVDA 10 Dec]	19
Yakovlev Confident of Democratic Election [Rome LA REPUBBLICA 10 Dec]	24
PRUA, CP Candidates Removed From Election Lists [ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 11 Dec]	25
Yavlinskiy Views Economic Reforms, Constitution [Vienna DIE PRESSE 11 Dec]	25
Civic Union Chiefs Try To Explain Failure Before Poll [SEGODNYA 11 Dec]	26
Volskiy Interviewed [PRAVDA 11 Dec]	27
Volskiy Previews Prospects [INTERFAX]	28
Movement for Democratic Reforms Political Program [Russian TV]	28
Sobchak Addresses Electors [ITAR-TASS]	29
Travkin's Party 'Prompting' Voters in Moscow [INTERFAX]	29
Women of Russia Bloc Leader Explains Role, Aims [ITAR-TASS]	29
Election Programs for Various Parties Compared [KOMсомOLSKAYA PRAVDA 9 Dec]	30
Party Leaders Appeal Against Rise of Extremism [Russian TV]	31
Round-Up on Regional Election Activities [ITAR-TASS]	31
'Home Stretch' in Election Campaign Viewed [ITAR-TASS]	32
Parties Pay for Airtime During Campaign [IZVESTIYA 10 Dec]	33
Commentator Assesses Main Party Postures [IZVESTIYA 9 Dec]	33

12 Dec Election Crucial for Country's Future [ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 10 Dec]	36
Left-Leaning Parties Said Gaining Strength [SEGODNYA 11 Dec]	37
Key Blocs Rely on Analytical Centers for Campaigning [KOMMERSANT-DAILY 11 Dec]	38

Voting Procedures, Turnout

Yeltsin Casts Vote, Expects 60-65 Percent Turnout [ITAR-TASS]	38
Kozyrev Comments After Voting, 'Sure' Draft To Pass [INTERFAX]	38
Sobchak Interviewed After Voting for New Constitution [INTERFAX]	39
Zorkin Casts Vote for Party Opposing 'Extremism' [INTERFAX]	39
Rutskoy First To Vote in Lefortovo Prison [Radio Rossii]	39
Khasbulatov To Boycott Elections [INTERFAX]	40
Ingush President, Vice President Comment After Voting [INTERFAX]	40
Black Sea Fleet Personnel Vote in Elections [INTERFAX]	40
Shevardnadze Issues Order To Help Russian Troops Vote [Tbilisi Radio]	40
Voter Turnout Figures Around Country Reported	40
Roundup of Midday Turnout [ITAR-TASS]	40
Only 7.5 Percent Vote in Tatarstan [ITAR-TASS]	41
'Covert Boycott' Worked [ITAR-TASS]	41
Low Moscow, St. Petersburg Turnout Explained [INTERFAX]	41
Further Details on Regional Turnout [ITAR-TASS]	41
Information Center: Turnout Over 52 Percent [ITAR-TASS]	42
Ryabov Tells Yeltsin Turnout 55 Percent [Russian TV]	42
ITAR-TASS Details Turnout	42
International Observers Gather for Elections [ITAR-TASS]	43
Official Confident of Observers' Access [ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 10 Dec]	43
European Parliament Official Discusses Observers' Role [PRAVDA 11 Dec]	44
Foreign Observers Visit Facilities, Hold Meetings	44
Talk With Ryabov [ITAR-TASS]	44
Visit Mass Media Arbitration Court [ITAR-TASS]	45
Meeting With Security Council's Lobov [ITAR-TASS]	45
Visit to ITAR-TASS [ITAR-TASS]	45
Observers Comment on Voting Procedures, 'Shortcomings'	45
Question Voting in Open, Not Booths [Russian TV]	45
CSCE Observer: No Violations in Moscow [Radio Rossii]	46
UK MP Says No Irregularities [Moscow TV]	46
EC Observers Report No Contraventions [ITAR-TASS]	46
European Observers Hold News Conference [ITAR-TASS]	46

Referendum on Constitution

Public Mood Surveyed Prior to Referendum [INTERFAX]	47
Chernomyrdin Appeals for Adoption of Constitution [ITAR-TASS]	49
Military Leadership Says Constitution 'Necessary' [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 10 Dec]	50
Party Representatives Debate Constitution [Moscow TV]	50
Communists Urge Vote Against New Constitution [ITAR-TASS]	51
Paper, Others Comment on Draft Constitution [ITAR-TASS]	52
Burbulis Move To Amend Constitution Not Supported [SEGODNYA 10 Dec]	52
Legal Scholar Supports Draft Constitution [IZVESTIYA 9 Dec]	53
European Appraisal of Constitution Viewed [ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 10 Dec]	54
Yeltsin Aide Previews Regional Voting on Draft [SEGODNYA 10 Dec]	55
Kalmykia Parliament Speaker Backs Draft [INTERFAX]	56
Tatarstan's Shaymiyev on Talks With Filatov [INTERFAX]	56
Ural Republic To Support Constitution [SEGODNYA 11 Dec]	57
Yeltsin Aide Kostikov Reports Constitution Adopted [Moscow TV]	57
Shumeyko: 'Nearly 60 Percent' Voted for Constitution [ITAR-TASS]	57
Electoral Commission Gives Preliminary Data on Vote [ITAR-TASS]	58
Commission Stresses No Connection to TV Program [Moscow Radio]	58
Preliminary Results of Referendum in Regions Detailed	58
INTERFAX Reports on Regional Results	58
Draft Fails in Altay Kray by 'Tiny Fraction' [ITAR-TASS]	58

70 Percent of Muscovites Approve Draft [ITAR-TASS]	58
Sakhalin Voters Favor Draft [Moscow Radio]	59
Vladikavkaz Reportedly Approves Draft [Radio Rossii]	59
Kabardino-Balkarian Supports Draft [INTERFAX]	59
'Text' of Yeltsin Statement on Referendum Results [Moscow Radio]	59

Preliminary Results

Kozyrev Wins Seat in State Duma [ITAR-TASS]	60
Shumeyko Elected to Federation Council [ITAR-TASS]	60
1991 Coup Plotter Elected to Upper Chamber [ITAR-TASS]	60
Khasbulatov's Nomination to Dagestan Government Denied [INTERFAX]	60
Former Sverdlovsk Governor Elected to Federation Council [INTERFAX]	60
Official Details Voting of Citizens Living Abroad [INTERFAX]	61
Russian Citizens Vote in Georgia [Moscow Radio]	61
Zhirinovskiy Appears 'Clear Winner' in Far East [INTERFAX]	61
Leading in 'Most' Regions [ITAR-TASS]	62
More on LDPR Leading [Radio Rossii]	62
LDPR, CPR, Russia's Choice Lead in Major Regions [ITAR-TASS]	62
Russia's Choice Leads in Moscow [ITAR-TASS]	63
Yavlinsky Bloc Leads in St. Petersburg [ITAR-TASS]	63
Krasnoyarsk Region Unofficial Election Results Detailed [INTERFAX]	63
Yakutia Election Commission Chairman Details Results [INTERFAX]	63
Election Results for Maritime, Khabarovsk Krays Reported [Vladivostok Radio]	63
INTERFAX Reports Election Commission Results	64

RUSSIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Kozyrev Holds News Conference 10 Dec	65
Rejects 'Imperial Role' in Europe [ITAR-TASS]	65
Outlines Priorities in Human Rights [ITAR-TASS]	65
Views Ties With EC [Mayak Radio]	65
Confirms Plans To Visit Warsaw [Warsaw PAP]	66
Denies Remark on 'Unpreparedness for Democracy' [SEGODNYA 11 Dec]	66
More on Yeltsin, Delegation Visit to Brussels	66
Yeltsin Allegedly 'Misled' [SEGODNYA 10 Dec]	66
Yeltsin Concession on Foreign Banks Viewed [ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 11 Dec]	67
Shokhin Calls Agreement 'Historic' [ITAR-TASS]	68
Grachev on Talks With Woerner [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 10 Dec]	68
Grachev Comments on Talks [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 11 Dec]	68
Further Grachev Comment [Moscow Radio]	69
Foreign Policy Gives Priority to Human Rights [ITAR-TASS]	69
U.S. Policy, 'Political Model' Viewed [IZVESTIYA 11 Dec]	70
Valentin Zorin on Disillusionment With U.S. Aid [Moscow International]	71
Lukin on Russia's Influence Abroad [Moscow TV]	71
Volkogonov Reports Progress in Tracing U.S. MIA's [KOMсомOLSKAYA PRAVDA 9 Dec]	73
Appeal on Ukrainian Nuclear Arms Circulated in U.S. [Moscow Radio]	73
Grachev Expects NATO Help on Ukrainian Nuclear Issue [INTERFAX]	73
Gasprom Official on Reduced Gas Deliveries to Ukraine [INTERFAX]	74
300 Tonnes of Uranium From Kyrgyzstan Discovered [Radio Rossii]	74
Reaction to Death Sentences in Moldova	74
Sentence May Block Settlement [INTERFAX]	74
Yeltsin Appeals for Mercy [ITAR-TASS]	74
Russia To Demand Extradition [INTERFAX]	75
Romanian Ambassador Summoned [ITAR-TASS]	75
Romania To Ensure Safety of Russian Embassy [ITAR-TASS]	75
Envoy Warns Russians Against Traveling to Algeria [IZVESTIYA 11 Dec]	75
Discussions Conducted With DPRK on Fisheries Agreement [ITAR-TASS]	76
'Technical Reasons' Delay Envoy's Departure for South Korea [SEGODNYA 10 Dec]	76

UKRAINE

International Affairs

Supreme Council Chairman Plyushch Visits London	77
UK's Hogg Cited on START [Kiev International]	77
Talks on Nuclear Weapons Held [UNIAN]	77
Shmarov, U.S. Envoy Discuss START, Ties [ITAR-TASS]	77
Official on World Reaction to START Decision [UNIAN]	77
Kravchuk, Envoys View Economic, Nuclear Issues [Kiev TV]	78
Kravchuk on Middle East Ties, Other Issues [London AL-HAYAH 9 Dec]	78
Commentary Views Ties With Russia [MOLOD UKRAYINY 7 Dec]	79

National Affairs

Report on Missile Code-Breaking Attempts Denied [UNIAN]	79
Adviser Cited on 'Unique' Nuclear Status [Kiev International]	80
Rukh Congress Meets in Kiev, Discusses Platform [INTERFAX]	80
Congress Ends; Chornovil Reelected [INTERFAX]	80
Chornovil Sums Up Meeting [UNIAN]	80
Regional Labor Unrest Noted After Price Hikes [UNIAN]	81
Sevastopol Meeting Backs Strike [ITAR-TASS]	82
Unions Warn of 'Social Explosion' [UNIAN]	82
Kuchma, Grinev Set Up 'Centrist' Reform Bloc [INTERFAX]	82
Crimean Council Wants More Economic Independence [UNIAN]	82
Crimean Parliament Chief To Run for President [INTERFAX]	83

WESTERN REGION

Belarus

U.S. Delegation Researching POW's, MIA's [ITAR-TASS]	84
Deputies Continue Work, Adopt Law on Taxation [Minsk Radio]	84
'Spring '94' Supports Minsk Strike Committee Appeal [BELAPAN]	84
1993 Economic Crime Rate 25 Percent Ahead of 1992 [BELAPAN]	84
30 Enterprises Delinquent in Energy Account Payments [BELAPAN]	85
Union Exhorts Leadership To Address Printing Problems [RESPUBLIKA 7 Dec]	85
Servicemen's Social Program Hindered by High Costs [VO SLAVU RODINY 7 Dec]	85

Moldova

'Sources' Say Government To Postpone Joining CIS [INTERFAX]	85
Chief of Staff, NATO Official Discuss Cooperation Prospects [Bucharest ROMPRES]	86
Officials React to Tiraspol Death Sentence	86
Snegur Issues Decree on Verdicts [ROMPRES]	86
Snegur Appeals To International Bodies [Bucharest ROMPRES]	86
Snegur Demands CSCE Support [Bucharest Radio]	86
Lalumiere Sends Declaration [Bucharest Radio]	86
CSCE Mission Warns of Growing Tension [Bucharest ROMPRES]	87
Prosecutor General Rejects Verdicts [Bucharest ROMPRES]	87
Speaker: New Parliament Will Solve Problem [ITAR-TASS]	87

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

Parliament Delegates Legislative Powers to President [INTERFAX]	88
Adopts Laws on Dissolution [Almaty Radio]	88
Nazarbayev Discusses Privatization, CIS [Vienna PROFIL 13 Dec]	88
Nazarbayev, Japanese Businessmen Discuss Cooperation [Almaty Radio]	89
Nazarbayev Addresses Almaty WHO Conference [Almaty Radio]	89

Kyrgyzstan

Bad Weather Forces Gore To Change CIS Tour [ITAR-TASS]	90
Parliament Session Fails To Resolve Confidence Issue [INTERFAX]	91
Turkish, Kyrgyz Presidents Exchange Messages [Bishkek Radio]	91
UK's Major Sends Message to Akayev, Promises Support [Bishek Radio]	91

Tajikistan

Rakhmanov Denies Top-Level Reshuffle Planned [ITAR-TASS]	91
Russian Troops Clash With 'Militants' in Pyandzh	92
Nine Killed [ITAR-TASS]	92
New Opposition Tactics Cited [ITAR-TASS]	92
Defense Ministry Publishes Own Weekly [ITAR-TASS]	92

Uzbekistan

Karimov Issues Decree on Ruble Exchange [Tashkent Radio]	92
Rights Activist's Assailants Unlikely To Be Pursued [IZVESTIYA 9 Dec]	93

CAUCASUS

Armenia

Yerevan Updates Situation on NKR Frontline [Yerevan Radio]	94
Azerbaijan Resumes 'Military Operations' [ARMENPRESS]	94

Azerbaijan

Armenian Forces Reported To Resume Offensive [Radio Rossii]	94
Ministry Denies Armenian Claims on Offensive [Baku International]	94
Russian Troop Deployment Termed 'Inadmissible' [Baku International]	95
Parliament Debates Draft on Martial Law [Baku International]	95
Presidential Spokesman Defends Media Curbs [INTERFAX]	95

Georgia

Minister Denies Report on Abkhaz Withdrawal [SNARK]	95
Government Issues Statement on Abkhaz Talks [ITAR-TASS]	95
Ardzinba Wants Observers, More Peacekeepers [INTERFAX]	96
Shevardnadze Addresses 9 Dec Parliament Session [Tbilisi Radio]	96
Shevardnadze Speaks to Law Enforcement Officials [Tbilisi Radio]	97

BALTIC STATES

Estonia

Meri Comments on Visits Abroad [INTERFAX]	102
---	-----

Latvia

Birkavs Says Latvia Does Not Need Skrunda [Riga Radio]	102
No Agreement Reached [Russian TV]	102
Delegation Head on Baltics Policy Priority [Kiev International]	102

Lithuania

LDDP Urges Prevention of Illegal Arms Trade [TIESA 25 Nov]	103
Ambassador Criticizes Delegation Disbandment [Vilnius Radio]	103
Agreement on Russian Military Pensioners [Vilnius Radio]	103
Ukrainians Seek Economic, Political Ties [Vilnius Radio]	103

Pre-Election Activities

Chernomyrdin Interviewed on Elections 10 Dec

LD1112201593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in
Russian 1714 GMT 10 Dec 93

["Unscheduled" interview with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin by Vladimir Kurnikov on 11 December; place not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kurnikov] Viktor Stepanovich, first of all, on behalf of Russia's Radio listeners, let me thank you for giving us your time just before Sunday's voting on the draft constitution and the elections to the new Russian parliament. What could you tell our listeners about this?

[Chernomyrdin] The way I see it, we have approached the home straight and it is just a matter of hours now before our people make their choice regarding what I regard as the main document for us—our Russian constitution. The elections to the Federal Assembly are also very important for us. This is also an uncommon event. My own personal view is that the way people declare themselves on this document is very important.

[Kurnikov] Our basic law.

[Chernomyrdin] Yes. [passage omitted] As head of government, I can say frankly that the old basic law, which is like a mended patchwork blanket, is a muddle of legal acts on the economy. The legislation brought in by the former Supreme Soviet ties the Council of Ministers hand and foot. My colleagues in the cabinet and I pin our hopes on the adoption of the new constitution in the expectation that the government will be able to operate freely inside the legal framework which is being created by the new basic law. The constitution not only unties our hands for active work in the economic field, but also sets rights within tight limits, something which is no less important. This is a real step towards the building of a law-based state.

The cabinet is preparing to submit a number of bills to the new parliament, aimed at carrying forward the economic reforms and surmounting the crisis in the economy.

Let me say straight away that I'm not one of those who foam at the mouth, demanding that critics of the text of the constitution, drawn up by the constitutional conference in the summer and autumn of this year, should be deprived of the right to their own view. Not a bit of it. As a Russian, as a citizen of multinational Russia, I personally shall vote for the draft because, for all its evident and amendable defects, it harmonically combines the original ideals of our fatherland with the real values accrued by the Western democracies. [passage omitted]

In voting for this draft constitution, I, personally, am choosing the unity, indivisibility and openness of Russia; a state system based on the protection of human rights

and freedoms; a sensible balance of the branches of power; and an economy free of compulsory blueprints divorced from real life.

And one more thought, which is a purely hypothetical one. Let us say that the referendum takes place and the constitution is rejected. And the elections to the as yet nonexistent Federal Assembly are valid. Then the parliament will find itself outside the legal framework. It is not difficult to predict the consequences. There would be new shocks and a rise in tension and an exacerbation of the political struggle, of which our country is so tired.

So I should like to appeal again to our fellow countrymen. The choice is yours. The choice belongs to all of us. Do not waive your right to choose your own destiny and the destiny of our whole country. I am convinced that Russians need no prompting. I am sure that on 12 December our great fatherland, Russia, will make its choice for itself.

[Kurnikov] Viktor Stepanovich, allow me, after such an exhaustive explanation of your position with regard to the draft of the new basic law of Russia, to ask you a question about the parliamentary elections. You have kept your distance from the preelection campaign, although it is quite obvious that any party would dream of having you as one of its candidates. Are you prepared, as head of the government, to cooperate with any composition, let's say, of the lower chamber of the State Duma appearing as a result of the elections?

[Chernomyrdin] I have already had to answer that question many times.

[Kurnikov] But it is now the eve of the elections.

[Chernomyrdin] Yes, there is no need to hide anything today - and, indeed, I haven't hidden anything anyway. That's why I haven't taken part in any preelection battles or joined up with any party or bloc. I can say right away and can reconfirm my opinion - I will cooperate with any bloc or parties in the State Duma, and with all who support the government's program. I think that is the most important thing today.

Just look - all the preelection battles are ending today, essentially. Everybody has put forward his program already, his point of view, what they want. A great deal has been promised and what was promised was to be expected. But, essentially, in my heart of hearts, I should tell you, as head of the government, I have taken on board a great deal of what is being proposed in the preelection battle. Therefore, my position is not: I don't accept anything unless it comes from the government. On the contrary, everything that is valuable and necessary must be taken on board and that should be done for the sake of our country. But I would like to say that the most important thing, essentially, is that few, essentially, nobody, proposed anything the government didn't know, or anything the government, the government and the president, wouldn't do today. Time and depth circumstances and opportunities are another matter.

I do not want to offend anyone today but I have to warn everyone and say that when such unequivocal appeals are made on television to the people and accusations are leveled at the president or the government, well, my dears, to begin with, you ought to have a thorough knowledge of the situation in the country so that certain conclusions can be drawn.

I am not against criticism. I am against irresponsible statements which are founded, mainly, on emotions. I find this unacceptable.

Otherwise, on the contrary, I will cooperate. We should cooperate - especially on many matters in which our opinions coincide, in particular, as far as the rights of the government and the president and everything connected with improving our people's life is concerned.

[Kurnikov] Viktor Stepanovich, on behalf of Russia's Radio, allow me once again to thank you for talking to us at such an important time, to wish you good health and to tell our listeners that you will be at work on the day of the elections. All the best.

Discusses Elections With Yeltsin

LD1112115493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 11 Dec 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer Sergey Vozianov] We have just received a press release from the press service of the Russian Federation president and the press service of the Council of Ministers-the Russian Federation Government. It says that this afternoon, on the eve of the nationwide election and the referendum on the constitution, Boris Yeltsin had a meeting with Viktor Chernomyrdin, the chairman of the Council of Ministers. During this meeting they discussed the results of preparations for the elections and the referendum. They also analyzed in detail the political and economic situation in the country. In addition to this, questions of forward planning and measures aimed at implementing the government program of social and economic reforms for 1993-95 were discussed.

Poltoranin Comments on 10 Dec Polls

LD1012154393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1409 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] Leader of the Federal Information Center, Mikhail Poltoranin, referring to results of public opinion polls, has said that Russian Liberal Democrats (leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy) is rated second in popularity after Russia's Choice.

Addressing a news conference in St Petersburg, he said that these are followed by the Party of Russian Unity and Concord (S. Shakhrai) and the Russian Unity for Democratic Reforms (G. Popov and A. Sobchak).

Poltoranin believes that those democratic blocs, as well as those which seem not to be able to overcome the 5%-barrier, must vote for Russia's Choice, which will be able to ensure stability in the country. Attacks on Russia's Choice was a mistake by its Democratic opponents who cleared the road for Zhirinovskiy and Zyuganov, said Poltoranin.

He said that at the meeting Friday with Mayor of St. Petersburg and Anatoliy Sobchak, a leader of the Russian Unity for Democratic Reforms, he wanted to speak about the possible transfer of other Democratic alliances' and parties' votes to Russia's Choice.

Poltoranin also said that if Liberal Democrats win many seats in the State Duma, and the government continues an uncertain policy, it is likely that in autumn 1994 Zhirinovskiy will become Russia's president.

Poltoranin has said that some German political experts believe that Zhirinovskiy had thoroughly studied the experience of the Adolph Hitler's election campaign.

Ryabov Issues Appeal to Electorate on Referendum Vote

PM1012120193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[ITAR-TASS report: "Central Electoral Commission Appeal to Voters of Russian Federation":]

[Text] On Wednesday Nikolay Ryabov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission of the Russian Federation, signed an Appeal to the Voters which says:

"The Central Electoral Commission of the Russian Federation notes that the right of Russian citizens to participate in the nationwide voting on the draft Constitution of the Russian Federation and the right to elect and be elected to Russia's supreme representative organ of power are enshrined in the legislation of the Russian Federation. However, some heads of executive power and individual leaders of organs of the representative power of components of the Russian Federation as well as a number of other officials in Russia have made public statements on the possibility of the population's participation or nonparticipation in the nationwide vote on the draft constitution of the Russian Federation on 12 December 1993 and in the elections of deputies of the Russian Federation's Federal Assembly.

"The population's will can be determined only by the results of the vote, and such statements by officials should be regarded solely as their personal position as ordinary voters.

"Each voter of the Russian Federation is entitled to express his or her will independently irrespective of anyone else's opinion including that of an official of the Russian Federation."

Further on Appeal

LD1012213193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1545 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Appeal to voters by Russian Electoral Commission Chairman Nikolay Ryabov in Moscow on 10 December; from the "How Shall We Build Russia" program—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed voters, citizens of the Russian Federation: Preparations for the elections to the Federal Assembly and for the nationwide vote on the draft constitution of the Russian Federation are being completed. Only a short time is left before 12 December, when every Russian national will have an opportunity to make his choice on which—and this is no exaggeration—the future of this country depends. This choice—which is not just a simple voting procedure—will bring the worthiest of the candidates to the parliament and will make it possible to form an efficient legislative body. Taking part in the referendum on the new constitution is a real chance for each citizen to shape the future of the Russian Federation, which we would like to see as a unified, cohesive, and strong country.

Within a brief period of time, colossal preparatory work has been carried out both in the center and in the localities, and today I can confidently say: Russia is ready for the elections. All the required organizational and technical arrangements have been made, including those that might become necessary if something unforeseen occurs.

I would like to inform you that now—after the registration of candidates to the Russian Federation Federal Assembly has been completed—3,797 entrants will continue to compete for deputies' mandates, of whom 494 are vying for seats in the Federation Council, 1,586 for seats in the State Duma from one-mandate constituencies, while 1,717 candidates entered the election campaign through the party lists of the federal constituency.

Russian citizens do care what people will comprise the new parliament. There are plenty to choose from. For example, among the candidates for the Federal Council, over 40 percent are the heads of executive power bodies and 16 percent are heads of representative bodies. These are professionals, one could say. A quarter of the candidates are fully competent in economics and finance; these include heads of major industrial enterprises, joint-stock companies, funds, commercial banks, and similar organizations. Some 6 percent of the contenders are teachers working in higher education, vocational training, and other educational institutions. There are also journalists, lawyers, people working in the agro-industrial complex, medical workers, and other professionals. It is worth mentioning that over 13 percent of the candidates are the former people's deputies of the Russian Federation.

The list of candidates for the State Duma is no less impressive. All this gives us hope that the new parliament will become a really professional and a truly representative body, capable of fruitful activity for the benefit of the peoples of our country.

By 9 December, over 1,000 foreign observers had registered at the press center of the Central Electoral Commission, representing over 50 countries and 20 international parliamentary, public, human rights, governmental, and nongovernmental organizations. The majority of the observers come from European countries that are members of the European Union, CSCE, and the Council of Europe. There are many observers from the United States. Some Asian, African, and Latin American countries are also represented.

It is an open secret that the idea of inviting foreign observers to the elections aroused a controversial reaction among the population of our country. Some doubt has been expressed as to whether the presence of foreign observers at the elections to the Federal Assembly and the voting on the draft constitution was not an act of interference in our internal affairs. We regard the arrival of foreign observers in Russia as an act of goodwill from our partners, as a gesture of solidarity with the Russians who are ready to hold elections to the Russian parliament and to vote for the draft constitution of the Russian Federation in an honest, correct, fair, and democratic manner.

The presence of observers in our country does not contradict legal standards; on the contrary, it corresponds to the practice generally accepted in international life. Let us welcome them at the polling stations and at the constituency commissions as our good friends. On 12 December, they will monitor the progress of the voting in over 100 towns and other populated areas throughout Russia, which will make it possible to obtain a true picture and to find out for themselves how free and democratic our elections were and how objectively their results were calculated.

In the time that still remains before the elections, the electoral commissions in constituencies should make the final preparations at the polling stations. Their location must be known to the voters and be convenient for them. In accordance with the statute on elections, the period of early voting at the ward commission is now over for those citizens who had to leave their permanent residence for a business or vacation trip, or for any other reason.

Our experience shows that long explanations on how to fill in the ballot paper had to be given to those Russians who came to vote early. On 12 December, it will be much less possible to do this. Therefore, the mass media should continue helping the electorate to learn about the voting techniques, using the opportunities provided by the television, the newspapers, and the advertising media. The Central Electoral Commission points out to all district electoral commissions that it is impermissible to

exert pressure on the voters in order to force you—dear Russian citizens—not to vote or, vice versa, to vote against your will.

The Central Electoral Commission asks the members of ward commissions to be attentive and considerate toward all voters, to inform them in good time about your location, and to take particular care of elderly and frail people.

In conclusion, I would like to wish prosperity and good health to all residents of Russia. I appeal to you to make your conscious choice for the sake of our future. May the Lord enlighten and guide us on that day. Thank you.

Electoral Commission Appeal on Canvassing Prohibition

PM1312130193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[“Appeal from the Central Electoral Commission for elections to the Federation Council and elections to the State Duma of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly to the leaders of the mass media, public associations, and all citizens of the Russian Federation,” dated 6 December 1993 and signed by N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission]

[Text] The procedure and timetable for holding campaign measures, including the use of the mass media, as established by the Statute on the Election of State Duma Deputies in 1993, the Statute on the Election of Deputies to the Federation Council of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly in 1993, and the Statute on the 12 December 1993 Nationwide Vote on the Draft Constitution of the Russian Federation stipulate that all public canvassing is prohibited:

for or against the draft Russian Federation Constitution that is to be submitted to a nationwide vote 12 December 1993—on the day prior to the day of the nationwide vote and on the day of the vote;

for or against candidate deputies to the Federation Council or the State Duma of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly or for or against the federal lists of the electoral associations—on the day of the elections.

The said ban:

in the case of canvassing for or against the draft Constitution of the Russian Federation comes into force at 0000 hours 11 December and operates until 2400 12 December 1993 (local time indicated);

in the case of canvassing for or against candidate deputies and the federal lists of the electoral associations comes into force at 0000 hours 12 December and operates until 2400 12 December 1993 (local time indicated).

The Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission draws attention to the need for the strict fulfillment of the said requirements.

Liability for fulfillment of the said requirements concerning canvassing carried out through the mass media lies with the leaders of mass media editorial collectives.

Violation of the said ban concerning any form of public canvassing by public associations or citizens of the Russian Federation incurs liability in accordance with Russian Federation legislation.

The Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission reminds you that, in line with Part Two of Article 30 of the Statute on the Election of State Duma Deputies in 1993 and with Article 23 of the Statute on the Election of Deputies to the Federation Council of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly in 1993, the dissemination of materials injurious to the honor and dignity of candidate deputies to the Russian Federation Federal Assembly is prohibited.

Further Commission Appeal

LD1112120693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] We have just received an appeal to voters by the Central Electoral Commission for the elections to the Federation Council and to the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation. This is the full text of this appeal.

The Central Electoral Commission notes that the right of Russian citizens to take part in the nationwide voting on the Russian Federation draft constitution, and the right to elect and to be elected to the highest representative body of power in Russia, are guaranteed by the existing constitution and the Russian Federation legislation. But some heads of the executive power, certain heads of bodies of the representative power of the Russian Federation subjects, as well as some other officials of Russia have made public statements regarding the question whether the population should or should not take part in the nationwide voting on the draft constitution, and in the elections of candidates to the Federal Assembly on 12 December. The will of the population should be determined only by the results of the voting, and such statements by officials should be interpreted only as personal views of ordinary voters. All Russian Federation voters have the right to express their will themselves, regardless of the opinion of anyone else, including any Russian Federation official.

The appeal was signed by Nikolay Ryabov, the chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission.

Electoral Panel Decree on Election Regulations

PM1012161793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 10 Dec 93 p 2

[Decrees No. 116 and 123 of the Central Electoral Commission for Elections to the Federation Council and Elections to the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, both titled “On Making Changes to the Explanation of the Procedure for

Applying Individual Articles of the Statute on the Elections of State Duma Deputies in 1993, Which Explanation Was Approved by the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission's Decree No. 24 of 10 November 1993," dated 3 and 7 December 1993 respectively and signed by N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission, and V.A. Zagulyayev, secretary of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission]

[Text] In accordance with Article 17 of the Statute on the Elections of State Duma Deputies in 1993, the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission decrees:

1. The explanation (Bulletin of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission No. 5, 1993) to Article 41 of the Statute on the Elections of State Duma Deputies in 1993 is to be set out as follows:

"Article 41. Registration of Elected Deputies

"After adopting the decision to recognize a candidate as an elected State Duma deputy and signing the protocol on the election results, the corresponding electoral commission is obliged to inform the candidate of this without delay.

"Registration of an elected deputy and the issuing to him of a certificate, whose form is laid down by the Central Electoral Commission, are effected by the appropriate electoral commission within five days of the publication of the overall election results by the Central Electoral Commission.

"Certificates are issued by district electoral commissions to deputies elected from single-seat electoral districts. Certificates are issued by the Central Electoral Commission to deputies elected from the federal electoral district.

"Registration and the issuing of certificates are effected if a candidate elected as a State Duma deputy submits to the appropriate electoral commission within three days of the publication of the overall election results by the Central Electoral Commission written notification of his relinquishing of powers incompatible with the status of a State Duma deputy (a personal statement or telegraphic communication with an indication of the date and number of the order or directive on his discharge from his place of work).

"If this obligation is not fulfilled by a candidate elected from the federal electoral district, his election is deemed invalid by the Central Electoral Commission. The vacant deputy's seat is filled in accordance with Article 45 of the statute.

"If this obligation is not fulfilled by a candidate elected from a single-seat electoral district, his election is deemed invalid by the appropriate district electoral commission. The Central Electoral Commission schedules new elections for this district."

2. This decree is to be published in the Bulletin of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission.

[Signed] N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission
V.A. Zagulyayev, secretary of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission 3 December 1993

In accordance with Article 17 of the Statute on the Elections of State Duma Deputies in 1993, the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission decrees:

1. The explanation (Bulletin of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission No. 5, 1993) to Article 39 of the Statute on the Elections of State Duma Deputies in 1993 is to be supplemented with the following paragraph:

"In order to compile and sign the protocol on the election results for a single-seat electoral district—according to the meaning of the statute—the district electoral commission does not need to receive information from the Central Electoral Commission on whether the elections in the federal electoral district have been deemed to have taken place and to be valid."

2. This decree is to be published in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, and the Bulletin of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission.

[Signed] N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission
V.A. Zagulyayev, secretary of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission 7 December 1993

Central Electoral Panel Decree, Information

PM1012172393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Feature under the general headline: "At the Central Electoral Commission," comprising Decree No. 118 of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission for the Elections to the Federation Council and the Elections to the State Duma of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly "On the Financing of Electoral Associations," dated 6 December 1993 and signed by N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission, and V.A. Zagulyayev, secretary of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission; followed by information from the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission, and changes to the Central Electoral Commission decree on candidate deputy registration]

[Text] Decree of the Central Electoral Commission for the Elections to the Federation Council and the Elections to the State Duma of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly

On Financing Electoral Associations

The Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission decrees that:

The financial and economic department of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission Apparatus is to transfer to the open temporary accounts of electoral

associations whose federal list of candidates for Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma deputies has been registered with the Central Electoral Commission additional money for election campaigning amounting to 50 million rubles for each electoral association.

[Signed] N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission
V.A. Zagulyayev, secretary of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission
[Dated] Moscow 6 December 1993 No. 118

The Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission provides the following information:

in accordance with Article 25 of the "Statute on the Elections of Deputies to the State Duma in 1993," Aleksandr Ivanovich Voropayev has been removed from the federal list of candidate deputies to the State Duma for the "Party of Russian Unity and Accord" electoral association on the basis of a personal application of 15 November 1993

in accordance with Article 25 of the "Statute on the Elections of Deputies to the State Duma in 1993," Nikolay Sergeyevich Mikhaylin has been removed from the federal list of candidate deputies to the State Duma for the "Democratic Party of Russia" electoral association on the basis of a personal application of 18 November 1993

in accordance with Article 25 of the "Statute on the Elections of Deputies to the State Duma in 1993," Gennadiy Georgiyevich Krutov, Rambom Imanuilovich Gavrilov, Magomed-Bashir Uruskhonovich Abadiyev, Valeriy Konstantinovich Tverdokhlebov, and Gadzhi Nukhievich Makhachev have been removed from the federal list of candidate deputies to the State Duma for the "Party of Russian Unity and Accord" electoral association on the basis of a decision of 1 December 1993 by the Party of Russian Unity and Accord Federal Council

in accordance with Article 25 of the "Statute on the Elections of Deputies to the State Duma in 1993," Anatoliy Ivanovich Puponin has been removed from the federal list of candidate deputies to the State Duma for the "Agrarian Party of Russia" electoral association on the basis of a personal application of 26 November 1993 and a decree of the Agrarian Party of Russia Central Council Board of 3 December 1993

in accordance with Article 25 of the "Statute on the Elections of Deputies to the State Duma in 1993," Viktor Osipovich Luchin has been removed from the federal list of candidate deputies to the State Duma for the "Agrarian Party of Russia" electoral association on the basis of a personal application of 15 November 1993 and a decree of the Agrarian Party of Russia Central Council Board of 3 December 1993

in accordance with Article 25 of the "Statute on the Elections of Deputies to the State Duma in 1993,"

Vladimir Nikolayevich Shcherbak has been removed from the federal list of candidate deputies to the State Duma for the "Agrarian Party of Russia" electoral association on the basis of a personal application of 18 November 1993 and a decree of the Agrarian Party of Russia Central Council Board of 3 December 1993

in accordance with Article 25 of the "Statute on the Elections of Deputies to the State Duma in 1993," Andrey Ivanovich Yurkus and Aleksandr Vladimirovich Alekseyev have been removed from the federal list of candidate deputies to the State Duma for the "Russia's Choice" electoral association on the basis of a decision of the Executive Committee of the "Russia's Choice" electoral association of 30 November 1993.

Amplifications have been made to the Decree of the Central Electoral Commission for the Elections to the Federation Council and the Elections to the State Duma of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly "On the Registration of the Federal List of Candidate Deputies to the Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma Put Forward by the 'Party of Russian Unity and Accord' Electoral Association" (ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 12 November 1993):

For the Kabardino-Balkar Republic: 48. (1.) Oleg Bashorovich Shibzukhov; 50. (3.) Timur Kichibatyrovich Ulbashev.

Electoral Commission Gives Number of State Duma Candidates

LD1212113993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] The RIA agency has learned from the Central Electoral Commission that the number of registered candidates to deputies for the State Duma from parties and public associations is as follows: Russia's Choice—201; Civic Union—184; Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc—164; Democratic Party of Russia—164; Party of Russian Unity and Accord—159; Communist Party of the Russian Federation—148; Liberal Democratic Party—147; Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms—145; Agrarian Party of Russia—138; Future of Russia - New Names—91; Dignity and Charity—56; Cedar movement—44; Women of Russia movement—38.

TV Plans for Coverage of Election Results Reported

PM1012100193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Marina Denisova report: "TV Has Sleepless Night in Store for Viewers 12 December"]

[Text] The logical culmination of the election campaign on TV will be the "Happy New Political Year" TV marathon, which will go out live on "Ostankino" channel 1 on the night of 12-13 December.

Proceedings will kick off in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, where representatives of the political beau monde, including President Boris Yeltsin, will assemble. And the entire country will be glued to TV screens to see which of the contenders have gained most votes.

The marathon—the first-ever large-scale eight-hour political show on Russian TV—will be presented by Tamara Maksimovna, whom viewers will have seen on the “Public Opinion” program, Valentina Zhdanova, creator of “Beyond the Kremlin Wall,” and Aleksey Pimanov, director of the “Rezonans” studio, which is preparing this plan.

The point of the proceedings is to learn the preliminary results of the elections as swiftly as possible. This will be facilitated by interviews with party leaders conducted in the hall, reports on how the elections went in various regions, and, naturally, live segments from the computer center specially installed for this marathon program in the Kremlin Palace. This will receive the early election results, and viewers will be able to learn this information instantly. That is, we will now be doing the same thing as the rest of the world, where this sort of thing is standard practice.

Seven information sources which the organizers of the marathon are not disclosing at present will help viewers to see, for instance, what sort of swing toward or away from Zhirinovskiy there has been and whether “Russia’s Choice” is going to succeed in taking the lead.

Russian Television will also offer its view of the process, and the final “Vesti” bulletin on 12 December will lead straight into the NIKA nighttime news channel, on which RTV announcers, presenters and participants from the most popular programs, journalists, and politicians who are not involved in “Ostankino’s” program will discuss the elections, naturally enough. Their discussions and maybe arguments will be periodically interrupted by live segments from the localities and interviews from the streets of Russian cities.

So the country’s two main TV channels are going to provide us with two sleepless nights for the price of one.

TV Journalists on Format for Campaign Debates

PM1312152793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10
Dec 93 First Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: “Candidates Managed on Television Without Journalists. So Who Won?”]

[Text] As we know, the candidate deputies for the State Duma declined live television debates, although they were offered the chance. They preferred the monologue format. Nevertheless, in the days leading up to the elections such debates are taking place on the “Ostankino” and “Rossiya” television channels. The program formula is determined now not by the candidates but by the television companies themselves. The theme of the debates on “Ostankino” consisted solely of

the constitution. Journalists Yuliy Semenov and Andrey Skryabin chaired the debates. In the debates on the “Rossiya” television channel, representatives of parties and blocs decided to discuss their problems with the participation of journalist Georgiy Dolgov.

IZVESTIYA approached leading television journalists with two questions:

1. How do you relate to the fact that television journalists were to all intents and purposes taken off the air during the campaign period and that what could be heard were solid candidate monologues?

2. How would you have organized airtime if you had had the chance to conduct television debates?

Nikolay Svanidze, “Rossiya” channel:

1. I react to this situation with loathing. Generally speaking, the entire running of the election campaign on television gives rise to this feeling. Monologue as a genre is an ineffective way of providing a rounded presentation of a candidate for viewers, and it is altogether anti-democratic. Such a situation contradicts world experience and allows demagogues “to flaunt themselves.”

2. I would invite into the studio people with diametrically opposed positions. For instance, two such extremes as Gaydar and Zyuganov. Moreover, I would try to avoid the possibility of argument at the “name-calling” level. The simplest of questions would be put to both sides, seated face to face: What ways to develop the country? what, specifically, must be done? Their answers, directed not at the studio audience, or even me, but to each other, would be highly indicative. At the same time, they would be permitted to dispute with each other, and it is here that the cutting edge of the conversation would lie. For instance, if one says that he will provide benefits for veterans, then the other would raise the logical question: But with whose money? Meanwhile I would take the role of mediator, and I would set trenchant questions, leaving the emotions to my interlocutors. If one side fails to react to the other’s retort, it is only then that I myself would intervene. That is, I support dialogue with the active presence of a third party. As for figures primarily of interest to me as individuals, I have to name Shakh-ray and Yavlinskiy. I don’t understand on what their differences with “Russia’s Choice” are based, inasmuch as they are both democratic blocs. What is preventing them from being more cohesive?

I would not invite Zhirinovskiy, as he does not interest me personally. I acknowledge that he is a most shocking individual and that he is perceived in our country as something of a phenomenon, although this kind of image is nothing original for the 20th century. This man will always find a way of exploiting his presence on the air and he will be thinking above all about how to do this, and this will hinder normal debates.

Pavel Ogorodnikov, presenter of “Novosti,” “Ostankino”:

1. You know, it could be that this was for the best. Because in point of fact we have neither the experience nor the tradition of holding such debates. I fear that on screen many journalists would look no better than the candidate politicians. Moreover, the politicians themselves and the newspapers have done much in recent years to discredit television journalists who dared to talk confidently and freely with high-ranking figures.

Nevertheless, world practice shows that television journalists are an essential part of election debates. And we will inevitably come to this.

2. I would construct a conversation with a candidate primarily around specific questions linked with the program of his party or bloc. I would try with the help of these questions to help the viewer to understand where exactly the difference between one or other program lies. Especially when we are talking about the democratic camp. I'm sure the overwhelming majority of television viewers have failed to understand what divides Gaydar, Yavlinskiy, and Shakhrai.

Would I be unbiased during the interview? Of course, any rate, I would try not to betray my own sympathy. This is how the rules of the campaign "game" must be. Who knows, it may be that at the next elections I may have occasion to try myself in this role.

Svetlana Sorokina, presenter of the "Vesti" news program, RTV:

1. My reaction is twofold. On the one hand, it is the reaction of anybody confronted with the inevitable, insofar as we have no experience of this type of election setup, because in the past we have voted via a single party list. Therefore, nobody understands now how to handle either the candidates or us, the journalists. On the other hand, as a voter and a journalist I'm sorry that there is no feedback: As the former, it would be nice to raise a multitude of questions, and—as the latter—to provide explanations. Indeed, only yesterday an American friend asked me what feelings I am experiencing during the campaign period. I replied that all I feel is boredom, because all around me are the bare facts, or juggling with the facts, but nothing more—no who? where? when? or for whom?

2. Your second question presents a complex construction. Television is first and foremost a means of entertainment. First, I would ask sociologists to calculate precisely the time at which people will be watching a campaign political program, and to which audience it is necessary to gear oneself. Our television seems to have done its homework in terms of broadcast time. But we have totally forgotten about who might be watching. Second, I would certainly organize outside broadcasts: at home, at work, wherever you like.... Third, the most ingenious thing I can think of is a political campaign program which slots into a program high in the ratings, such as "Pole chudes" [Field of Miracles], or a soccer match. I would recommend representatives of the women's movement to get up onto the catwalk and

model fashions. She may win votes with her figure. But seriously, I would sit two candidates down or arrange a talk show to ensure a lively discussion. It would give me pleasure to organize debates with Artem Tarasov, pitting him, for instance, against Luzhkov, Silayev, or a representative of the defense and security ministries.

Defamation of Travkin Party Candidate Denied

PM1312115593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Dec 93 First Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA editorial office statement: "Central Electoral Commission Is Interpreting Law Inexactly and Is Trying to Dictate to IZVESTIYA. Editorial Office Rejects Diktat"]

[Text] On 9 December 1993 at 1600 hours the editorial office received a Central Electoral Commission decree "on the publication 'Criminal Nuance in the Election Campaign' in IZVESTIYA 7 December 1993."

This document reproaches the editorial office for the fact that, in contravention of section two of article 30 of the Statute on the Elections of State Duma Deputies in 1993, we published items defaming the honor and dignity of Ivan Degtyarev, a candidate deputy from the Travkin Party.

The editorial office cannot agree with this way of putting it. Journalist V. Fridman described the candidate deputy's illegal actions whereby he had himself defamed his own honor and dignity. On the other hand the Central Electoral Commission does not refute a single one of the facts cited, that is emphasis is on the formal aspect, on the letter of the statute, not its spirit.

The editorial office is categorically told, in accordance with articles 43, 44, and 56 of the Russian Federation law "on the mass media," to publish the Central Electoral Commission's 10 December 1993 decree "without any abridgements (cuts), editorial headlines, or commentary."

This demand directly contradicts the above-mentioned law. Articles 43 and 44 speak of the right to a refutation and the procedure for its publication. We repeat, not a single one of the facts cited in the newspaper has been denied. In addition a refutation can be demanded only by a citizen or organization whose honor and dignity have been defamed by the publication of information which does not accord with reality. Consequently the Central Electoral Commission has exceeded its powers.

Moreover, even if a refutation is published by a court decision the law does not forbid the editorial office to comment on it.

Further on IZVESTIYA Article

PM1012210993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 5

[Decree No. 127 of the Central Electoral Commission for Elections to the Federation Council and Elections to the State Duma of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly

"On the Item 'Criminal Nuanee in the Election Campaign' in IZVESTIYA Newspaper of 7 December 1993," signed by N.T. Ryabov and V.A. Zagulyayev, respectively chairman and secretary of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission, and dated Moscow, 9 December 1993]

[Text] On 7 December IZVESTIYA newspaper carried an item under the headline "Criminal Nuanee in the Election Campaign," subtitled "Candidate From Travkin's Party Running for State Duma Is Being Sought by Norwegian and Russian Detectives."

On the same day the Democratic Party of Russia's governing body appealed to the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission, requesting an appraisal of the illegality of these actions by the IZVESTIYA editorial office.

Having considered the appeal of the Democratic Party of Russia's governing body and the finding of the Russian Federation General Prosecutor's Office, the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission decrees:

1. It is noted that the IZVESTIYA editorial office has contravened Article 30, Section 2 of the Statute on the Election of Deputies to the State Duma in 1993, confirmed by the Russian Federation president's Edict No. 1557 of 1 October 1993 (banning the dissemination of material damaging the honor and dignity of candidate deputies), and has ignored the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission's Appeal No. 119 of 6 December 1993 to Mass Media Leaders, Public Associations, and All Citizens of the Russian Federation.

2. The attention of the Russian Federation Ministry of the Press and Information and the Information Arbitration Tribunal is drawn to this case of IZVESTIYA's illegal actions.

3. Mass media leaders are to strictly observe the requirements contained in the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission's Appeal No. 119 of 6 December 1993.

4. In accordance with Articles 56 and 43 of the Russian Federation Law "On the Mass Media," the IZVESTIYA editorial office (Chief Editor I.N. Golembiovskiy) is bound by the procedure defined by Article 44, Section 2 of the Russian Federation Law "On the Mass Media" to publish this decree before 10 December 1993 without any abridgment (cuts) or editorial headlines and commentaries.

5. This decree is to be published before 10 December 1993 in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI newspaper, and the next issue of the Bulletin of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission.

[Signed] N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission
V.A. Zagulyayev, secretary of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission
[Dated] Moscow, 9 December 1993

North Ossetian State of Emergency Lifted for Election

LD1112193193 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1825 GMT 11 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz December 11 TASS—The situation in the zone of the state of emergency in North Ossetia remained calm throughout Saturday, according to military sources.

No ethnic clashes were reported in the area over the past 24 hours. Russian peace-keeping troops control the situation.

The zone temporary administration told ITAR-TASS that the state of emergency will be temporarily suspended in parts of North Ossetia and Ingushetia from midnight December 12 till midnight December 13, 1993 for the duration of the elections to the federal assembly, Russia's new parliament, and the referendum on the draft Russian constitution.

During that period, Russian peacekeepers will be engaged to ensure order in the region in strict compliance with the Russian legislation.

Polls To Have No 'Legal Consequences' for Chechnya

LD1212142793 Moscow *ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian* 1350 GMT 12 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy, 12 Dec—"I welcome today's elections and the referendum as a form of stabilization of the political situation in Russia, but their results cannot and will not have any legal consequences whatsoever for Chechnya," Chechnya's President Dzhokhar Dudayev told ITAR-TASS today.

According to Dudayev, the social and political situation in Chechnya, which refused to hold either the elections or the referendum, is normal. Chechnya's public has been concerned, however, at some pronouncements by Russian leaders about Chechnya, "as well as at Russia's moving up its troops," he added. Dudayev said all Chechen military units, towns, and villages are making preparations, in the event of the use of force against Chechnya.

Tuva Bets on Constitution; Chechens Prepare for War

MK1112120093 Moscow *SEGODNYA in Russian* 11 Dec 93 p 2

[Natalya Gorodetskaya report under the "Republics" rubric: "Kalmykia Sees Referendum as 'Timely.' Chechnya Braces for a Guerrilla War With Russia"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] An emergency Supreme Soviet session of yet another republic that disagrees with the draft constitution—Tuva—has passed a law on determining the results of the referendum on the constitutions of Russia and Tuva. If both documents are approved, they will both go into force on the republic's territory, but the Russian Federation Constitution will be in effect only insofar as it does not run counter to the Fundamental Law of Tuva. If the republic's constitution, which was adopted by the Tuva parliament on 21 October, is not approved by the people, elections to the Supreme Khural [Council], which will also be held 12 December, will be declared invalid and the former lineup of the Supreme Soviet will stay on.

Meanwhile, Chechnya, which interpreted Boris Yeltsin's statement on taking railways under control as a political step against the "rebellious republic"—which seceded from the Russian Federation and refused to hold a referendum on a constitution of a "foreign state"—and as a "veiled declaration of war," has launched defense preparations. Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev has held a meeting with the Chechen Army command. According to Chechen Press and Information Minister Movladi Udugov, a total of 250,000 Russian soldiers and 1,000 tanks have been concentrated close to the republic's borders and are "ready to invade Chechnya." Dzhokhar Dudayev called on the republic's population to be ready to repel Russian aggression at any minute and, if need be, to launch a guerrilla war. As for weapons, Mr. Udugov said, every Chechen family has them.

Chechen armed formations have already "established tight control over railways and railway stations, and they have been closely watching movements of Russian troops in the areas of Dagestan, Stavropol Kray, Ingushetia, and North Ossetia bordering on Chechnya," the minister said.

Russia's Choice Activities Before Election Reported

Gaydar Criticizes Democrats

MK1012115093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 10 Dec 93 p 2

[Dmitriy Volkov, Natalya Gorodetskaya report under the "Alliance?" rubric: "'Russia's Choice' Favors Coordination of Liberal Forces, But Some Liberals Are Not Aware of This"]

[Text] Yegor Gaydar, No. 1 in "Russia's Choice," said yesterday that "he is very sorry that other democratically minded blocs have expressed their readiness to coordinate efforts in the electoral struggle only at the 11th hour, with two or three days to go before the elections." He said that last weekend he held telephone consultations with Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, leader of "Yabloko," and "Russia's Choice" activists spoke with other liberal blocs. Mr. Gaydar confirmed reports that "Russia's Choice" would support other blocs' candidates in 12

majority districts, particularly those from "Yabloko," the PRES [Party of Russian Unity and Accord], and the RDRM [Russian Democratic Reform Movement]. So far only one reciprocal gesture has been definitively known—Viktor Sheynis, member of "Yabloko," withdrew his candidacy in favor of "Russia's Choice," but then again at his own initiative.

Meanwhile, the Republican Party, which is part of "Yabloko," says that the decision by "Russia's Choice" to support their candidates came as a "surprise" to them. Igor Yakovenko, Vyacheslav Shostakovskiy, and Vladimir Lysenko—the party's cochairmen—said yesterday at a press conference that talks on the mutual backing by candidates from democratic blocs have been inconclusive primarily owing to the rigid stance adopted by "Russia's Choice" leaders, who demand that their candidates be supported. They favored coordination of actions in the majority district of Shchelkovo, outside Moscow, where Vladimir Zhirinovskiy is running for parliament.

The rising popularity of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR]—which by some accounts has been ranking second after "Russia's Choice" in terms of popular support, just ahead of Mr. Yavlinskiy's bloc with Shakhrai's party trailing far behind—is "a very serious factor," Yegor Gaydar said. He added that the current socioeconomic situation "creates objectively fertile ground for politicians who offer extremely easy recipes." Yegor Gaydar said, however, that for all this we must not "give up democratic standards" (that is, try to resolve the emerging problem with regard to the electorate's sentiments by administrative methods). According to the "Russia's Choice" leader, the situation imposes "extra responsibility" on politicians competing on the liberal flank. Noting that, for instance, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy's program is "very close" to that of "Russia's Choice," although they have differences "in approach" to fighting inflation, Yegor Gaydar said that competitors of liberal orientation should decide whether it is worth taking chances and forgoing the coordination of electoral efforts "for the sake of personal ambitions." Mr. Gaydar said that he has come across pronouncements by "a number of democrats based on the principle that it is better to enter the parliament together with the communists than with 'Russia's Choice.'" "History has not taught these people anything," he said.

Russia's Choice Scored Over Tactics

MK1012120093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Dec 93 p 1

[Article by chief editor Vitaliy Tretyakov: "I Issue Orders and You Obey Them. On the Danger of the 'No Alternative!' Slogan"]

[Text] I wanted to write my last pre-election opus, just like the two previous ones, in the form of a dialogue, but only a very brief one. Namely:

"Is there an alternative to Boris Yeltsin?"

"Yes."

"And is this all you can say?"

"Is there any need to prove anything here?"

That is all.

Yet the course of the election propaganda campaign and its increasingly threatening trends (both in the direct and the figurative meaning of the word) compel a more detailed look at one of the aspects of this axiom (an assertion that does not require any proof).

Some Russia's Choice representatives are again beginning to intimidate society. I quote almost verbatim: If you, the voters, do not elect us, the country will find itself on the verge of a catastrophe, a civil war, and so forth. Where did this wish and this readiness to sow fear in society come from? Why? For what purpose? I have answers to these questions but this is not the point now. What matters are the facts.

What is actually being proposed is the following alternative (or rather, a lack of alternative): either we shall rule, or everything will be bad. Things do not work that way. They never do. A political force that leaves society no choice is totalitarian in its essence, even if it is not aware of this itself. Such were the communists some time in the past (now they have become wiser). Such is still Mr. Zhirinovskiy in the course of the ongoing election campaign, who is a head above the others (including Russia's Choice) in eschatology (prophesying the end of the world if he is not elected), but two heads above in his ability to point to an extremely clear-cut, short, and obvious way to a bright future in a super-accessible and super-attractive form for the marginal strata of society (and their name today is legion). Are you not afraid?

Do Russia's Choice theorists and advocates not understand that by insisting that there is no alternative to themselves and Boris Yeltsin, they will sooner or later bring Zhirinovskiy into the Kremlin? Do they not understand that it was precisely the Russian president who, by including Zhirinovskiy in the constitutional conference, gave him such a strong boost into official politics that this gentleman considered it quite reasonable and appropriate for himself, during a meeting of election bloc leaders, to sit on Boris Yeltsin's right front of Yegor Gaydar, who was sitting on his left. This was beamed by Bragin's (Russia's Choice) TV throughout the whole country! Are we really in our sound mind?

You have been fighting the communists, who know this country and who should have been turned into allies, using their influence and experience. What you have ended up with, however, is that they may become allies of Zhirinovskiy, whom you have installed on the political throne with your exhortations about the lack of alternative and your show of diversity, when any positive mention of the Communist Party in official propaganda was stamped out while stories about Zhirinovskiy's political eccentricities were encouraged.

No matter how many votes Zhirinovskiy might poll (and in percentages he will undoubtedly get more than he did two years ago in the presidential elections), he has already won this election campaign and will be sitting in the new parliament—moreover, with his own faction. And this is better than the former Supreme Soviet?!

I repeat. In a society where there is no alternative to the incumbent president, Zhirinovskiy will sooner or later become such an alternative, and the entire responsibility for this will lie squarely with those insisting that there is no alternative.

No alternative means: I issue orders and you obey them. In this—damn it—you have already matched Zhirinovskiy. Is that not enough? Is that not where you should stop?

Vote for Russia's Choice if it finally abandons its messianism whose slogan is "There is no alternative!"

There is always an alternative!

Party Issues Appeal to Voters

LD1112174993

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 1100 GMT on 11 December, as part of a scheduled Mayak newscast, carries an "appeal to the voters" on behalf of the "Russia's Choice" bloc.

The first two items of the newscast are followed by five seconds of music, and then by the following final piece:

"Appeal to the voters.

"Two years of diarchy have almost ruined Russia. Only now is there a chance to carry out the reforms that society needs against a background of order, stability and legality.

"First, we must make the right choice on 12 December. If we get it wrong, new Khasbulatovs will appear. Deputies will once again be marching solidly against the president. The finances, the economy, and law and order will be hostages to a confrontation between the authorities.

"The term of the new parliament is two years. In other words, until the next presidential elections, in effect. That's why we think that the people elected to it must be those who have proved their wish and ability to work together with the president rather than to spite him. They will be people who are not always in agreement with him about everything, of course, but who know how to stand up firmly for their principles through dialogue rather than domestic squabbling.

"And there is one further quality that the new deputies must possess. They must not be afraid, even at the most difficult times, to accept personal responsibility.

"We see the team that matches these requirements inside the 'Russia's Choice' bloc."

The appeal concludes with a list of signatories who are well-known stage and sports personalities.

The announcer signs off: "That was a Mayak newscast."

Fedorov Rejects Prospect of Coalition

PM1012163893 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Report on interview with Russian Finance Minister Boris Fedorov by correspondent Rustam Arifdzhanov on 10 December; place not given: "Minister Fedorov Hits Back at Zaveryukha. He Will Not Work With Gerashchenko. He Sees No Point in a Coalition Government"]

[Text] "As the elections approach, politicians have torn off their masks and it has become clear that even those who used to appear likeminded are not so at all," Boris Fedorov, minister of finance and a notable figure in the "Russia's Choice" bloc, admitted to IZVESTIYA's correspondent. On the last weekday before the elections, he tried to gaze into the dark morning of 13 December.

You know, the night is longer than the day. Monday 13. It is here at last. Shokhin, Shakhrai, and Melikyan have come out in opposition to the government in the election campaign. Zaveryukha, one of the leaders of the Agrarian Party, states that the present government has done virtually everything wrong. A number of nonparty ministers are also distancing themselves from the former line. What kind of government is this going to be?

Fedorov, sure of victory for "Russia's Choice," asserts that it does not matter that much who the future premier is, what matters is that the new government should not be a coalition. Especially since it is now clear who stands for what, and if a course of moderate financial stabilization is chosen, then obviously the Council of Ministers should consist of people who support that course. Whereas if Vice Premier Zaveryukha or top banker Gerashchenko thinks the wrong financial policy is being pursued, why should they be in the government? Would it not be more honest to go? Or do they seriously think that the premier signs reformist documents but does not actually believe in them?

It is either reform, or else we stand still. Nowhere do reforms take place with total consensus, by means of long debates in parliament, under the leadership of a coalition government. Reforms need political will. Yeltsin, together with Gaydar, decided on reforms in 1991, showing that will. This year, despite certain changes, nothing revolutionary has happened. We have simply followed the former path, but now it is no longer possible "simply" to maintain the status quo. That is Russia's choice—to go further, to reduce inflation, to complete privatization, to set about regulating the economy. Or else to turn back, to the old system, where there will be minimum guaranteed prices for the purchase of grain,

meat, and other things, state reserves and imports of grain from America, and so forth. So it is either onward or back.

Given an unconditional victory for "Russia's Choice," the choice is certainly clear, "but if, even then," the finance minister stresses, "the president once again proposes Viktor Gerashchenko for the post of Central Bank chairman, I will take that to mean that I am wrong and Viktor Vladimirovich is right, and that the president supports him. What would I do in a government like that?" It would not be the first time Fedorov had left the government. The youngest minister in the Silayev government, Fedorov, then only 32, left the Council of Ministers to show his disagreement with the leadership's inactivity on questions of economic reform.

Most likely Fedorov the financier will still be in the government 13, 14, and even 15 December, and later too, naturally. But instantaneous happiness, "Zhirinovskiy-style," will not come on 13 or even 15 December. The probable victors in the elections are not promising that overnight, but let us suppose they win. State Duma candidate Fedorov becomes a deputy and, along with his colleagues, forms a government of reforms.

Then what? "We will not hand out more subsidies, we will not issue five expenditure decrees a week. We will keep to the budget we ourselves compiled. We will reduce inflation. We will not give credits to people who do not know where the money is going to come from after that. Interest rates will become positive, which means people will start accumulating money and buying things."

Then we talked about clean sidewalks and roadways in the foreseeable future, vacations in the Canary Islands for secretaries, and how everyone will be able to save up for a home, and a rich man will be able to buy a yacht, and then we came back to the present.

A reformist government—if one can be created in place of the present coalition government, as it turns out to be—will tackle first of all the task of reducing the rate of inflation; second, agrarian questions; third, the problems of the North, where vast numbers of people were sent in past years, but there is nothing for them to do there now or in future. And only fourth, questions of industry.

I pictured the reaction of the powerful industrial lobby, the so-called "practitioners," when they become acquainted with the priorities in this program. "So be it," Fedorov said, with a rather scornful wave of the hand, "what do they know about the credit and financial system of market relations, where money comes from, and how? Managing a plant and managing the economy are different things."

That is blunt, and the vice premier for finance was even blunter in his swipe at the vice premier for agriculture, in reply to his statement condemning Fedorov's policy with regard to agriculture. "I do not have a personal policy,

the decisions are made by Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin, and the government. So Zaveryukha is setting himself up against their policy. Every peasant who is losing money daily because of inflation should know that Zaveryukha is one of those to blame for it."

The masks are off. The election campaign has revealed who's who and what they want. Fedorov, Shokhin, Zaveryukha, and a whole series of other members of the government have finally gone their separate ways.

That gloomy day, 13 December, is hazy, into the bargain, but one thing is clear. After the elections we will have a different government. Apparently they will no longer be able to work together.

Zhirinovskiy, LDPR Continue Campaign Activities

Issues Statement

PM1312152193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Dec 93 p 2

[Statement by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia: "The LDPR Knows What Must Be Done"]

[Text] Citizens of the Russian republic! Dear Russians!

Election time has arrived. For the first time we are participating on a multiparty basis in the creation of a new parliament—the State Duma. Every one of us faces the question: For whom should we vote, for what party? You are tired of everything. You do not want to believe anyone any more, because they make promises to you before the elections, but after them life gets not better, but worse.

What differentiates our Liberal Democratic Party [LDPR] from the other parties telling you to tighten your belts? Our party believes that Russia's economy can be restored in a very short time.

Russia possesses rich resources—land, raw materials, industrial, and human resources. We have arrived at economic disaster and the impoverishment of the people because of the squandering of Russia's wealth, because of our wide open borders. Surely there can be no talk of order in a house if the house has no doors and no locks? We need to begin with the state borders, by establishing a strict customs regime, by stopping the export from the country of resources we need ourselves.

A minimum program is needed.

1. All aid to foreign countries, nearby or further afield, should be stopped. This would improve the lives of you and me by 30 percent.

2. The conversion of military industry should be suspended. We must continue to produce military products and sell them on the world market, from which the United States ousted us by deceit, promising us generous

aid "in the form of loans" in return for our "disarmament." Our weapons are in demand on the foreign market. By selling them we will increase our country's revenue by another 30 percent.

3. We propose to put an end to organized crime within a few months. Speculators charging exorbitant prices for the frequently poor quality products they bring in must be expelled from Russia. The right to trade must be granted only to people having Russian citizenship.

Restoration of the country's economy must begin immediately:

1. Everyone must be given the opportunity to participate in production. The state sector must be strengthened. The severed ties between state industrial enterprises must be restored. Only small enterprises and the service sector should be privatized. Unprofitable enterprises must be reprofiled and supplied with the resources to produce scarce goods and space parts for our machinery. Stalled construction projects should be transferred to the private sector. The population should not suffer unemployment or the fear thereof.

2. Houses should be freely transferred to the ownership of those living in them. Those not provided with housing should be granted the opportunity to receive without advance payment (in view of people's lack of savings) accommodations (apartments, houses) erected by the state, subsequently paying back their value to the state in installments over 25-30 years.

3. In the first phase land should remain in the possession of the state. City dwellers so wishing should receive land on a long-term lease (25-50 years) without advance payment (in view of the population's lack of savings) with the right of inheritance but without the right to sell. With the mandatory condition that the land not lie fallow and that the lessee will cultivate it and will produce agricultural produce.

Profitable kolkhozes and sovkhoses should be given equal rights with private lessees to use land. All land that is not being cultivated must be returned to the state.

4. The tax system should be developed in favor of producers: Producers should keep 60 percent of their profits.

5. Benefits should be kept only for those in dire need (single mothers, pensioners living on their own, invalids, and so forth). Preferential trade on a ration-card system should be introduced for low-income strata of the population.

"Soliciting for loans" from foreign states should be stopped. As far as possible, the payment of old debts should be suspended. Payment in hard currency or goods should be required from Russia's debtors (the debts of other states to Russia exceed our external debt by \$30 billion).

7. Rational reductions of the Army should be carried out by transferring officers to the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] troops and to systems of the Ministry of Security. Enlisted personnel and NCO's should, where possible, serve close to their place of residence. Military aid to other states should be provided only in the form of equipment, and payment should be required for it. Army personnel should be looked after: Human lives are priceless.

The program can be successfully fulfilled if our society unites and people start to work calmly. Everyone will be able to feed himself and his family, deriving pleasure from life.

The LDPR advocates the recreation of the Russian state within the borders of the former USSR. We are against the CIS as it now exists—it is an artificial formation that breaks ties between people and production lines and destroys the single economic area of the great power which formed in the course of centuries—Russia.

The LDPR believes it necessary to reject national divisions and restore the old, prerevolutionary territorial administrative divisions—this is the source of conflicts, dissension, and civil wars. Russia is a fatherland for all. All peoples—great and small—are equal before the law, each possesses the right to maintain their traditions and customs and develop their national culture and the right to freedom of conscience. Naturally, the Russian people, the most numerous in our country, who possess a high culture and who made great sacrifices in the process of forming and maintaining the Russian empire, play the role of guarantor of the country's prosperity and integrity.

There will be no need of mortars or tanks, no need to resort to violence in order to reunite Russia's lands: Inhabitants of the "nearby foreign parts" have been deprived of their accustomed selfless aid from the Russian Federation, and moreover have been forced to return to it considerable state loans; their lives will increasingly deteriorate, while the Russian economy will quickly revive. Having seen for themselves that they cannot live without Russia, they will ask of their own accord to be restored to the body of the Russian state.

2d Place 'Likely' in Krasnodar

MK1112122093 Moscow *SEGODNYA* in Russian 11
Dec 93 p 2

[Vladimir Todres report under the "Province" rubric: "Kuban: The Past Is Returning. And Zhirinovskiy's Party May Come in Second"]

[Text] Nearly two-thirds of the Kuban population will come to the polls on 12 December. In the race among party lists in Krasnodar Kray the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia is likely to finish second: The number of its supporters there may reach 14 percent. Local sociologist Igor Kritskiy, Kray Soviet chairman Aleksandr

Zhdanovskiy, and officials at Russia's Choice headquarters agree on this assessment.

It is so far hard to give other assessments—even to decide who is going to be first. Local journalists attribute the fiasco for public polls—which alternately say the leader is the Russian Federation Communist Party, then the Agrarian Party, then Russia's Choice—to the fact that "the Kuban people are interested in persons, not parties." And, I may add, not those from Moscow (Gaydar, Yavlinskiy, Shakhrai, etc.), but local ones. The party struggle has amounted to a tussle for Federation Council seats between three titans of local importance. Nikolay Kondratenko, a communist with a patently nationalist background, was Kuban's chief up to the 1991 putsch when the State Committee for the State of Emergency took charge, for which he was deprived of his position. Nikolay Yegorov, an old apparatchik with acquired sympathies and affections, Vladimir Shumeyko's pal and Viktor Chernomyrdin's good friend, today's governor. Both are opposed by Vasilii Dyakonov, who was governor between the two of them for as little as one year. According to one version, he fell victim to his own incompetence; according to another, to the local tobacco, vodka, and agrarian monopolies.

Mr. Dyakonov's registration as candidate was rescinded by the local commission and reinstated by the Central Electoral Commission. A delegation led by Nikolay Ryabov's deputy, Mr. Ivanchenko, which flew to Krasnodar the other day, confirmed: Mr. Dyakonov's name remains on the ballot. Russia's Choice headquarters maintains that "the governor tried to suspend Dyakonov precisely because he is assured of success." Local observers, however, maintain that the popularity of the Russia's Choice men is lower than that of their rivals: The Cossacks, who were slow at the start, still remember Mr. Dyakonov's efforts in the field of "sweeping establishment of private farms." On Thursday he played out his last trump card, stating on local television that he was able "to establish in the Kuban firm prices for grain and lower the prices of tobacco and vodka." Supporters of the Gaydar bloc were horrified, while Zhirinovskiy's supporters grinned.

In the meantime, Nikolay Kondratenko—"batko [chief] Kondrat" is confidently in the lead: In addition to the nostalgia for "the story of former glory," his campaigning is attended by a curious anti-Armenian spirit. This sort of propaganda is enjoying greater success with the Cossacks the more Armenian refugees come here.

Mr. Zhdanovskiy, head of the Kray Soviet, confidently guarantees that Mr. Kondratenko will win a seat on the local regional parliament in the 6 March elections, and then the seat of its speaker. "He would surely have become governor if governors were elected by locals rather than appointed by Boris Yeltsin," he said. And sighed: "Kuban...."

Claims He Will Get 50% of Vote

LD1212184893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1648
GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] The draft constitution includes articles which do not suit the Liberal Democratic Party, but the new legislature will be able to make the necessary corrections, the party's leader, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, told journalists on Sunday. According to him, Russia needs a new constitution.

According to Zhirinovskiy, in the new parliament deputies from his party would be pleased to cooperate with the Women of Russia movement and with the Russia's Future-New Names bloc. His attitude to all who are connected with Russian Choice is negative, he said. According to him, such politicians include Yavlinskiy, Shakhrai, Volskiy, Travkin, Sobchak.

"If there is no falsification, the Liberal Democratic Party will collect about 50 percent of the vote," Zhirinovskiy said. "If the election results are rigged, it will collect 25 percent; if the rigging is too tight, it will score at least 10 percent."

With reference to Russia's relations with America in case of his victory, the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party said: "I'll be pleased to meet with Bill Clinton in January; I am sure that we'll reach agreement with him on all issues".

Ostankino Carries Zhirinovskiy Film

LD1112145993

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1035 GMT on 11 December begins to broadcast an unscheduled film called "The Hawk" about Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party—LDP. The opening shot shows Zhirinovskiy in uniform and then the following caption fades in: "I am the Almighty! I am Tyrant! I Will Follow in Hitler's Footsteps!"

Over music the commentary briefly charts Zhirinovskiy's political rise. The commentator stresses that his party is neither liberal nor democratic.

The next shot of Zhirinovskiy shows him at a rally proclaiming the following: "There will be no autonomous republics. There will be one single Russian republic. No autonomies, no union republics. Bolsheviks have already tried their experiment. It was a flop. Now democrats are going to experiment: They want to give freedom, democracy, and independence to everyone. Once this fails, I will come to power. I will put things in order; this is what I am saying. I will reinstitute the borders of the Russian state within the framework that we had before—nothing new here. We will not invade Hungary. We will reinstate borders that existed in Russia before the October coup, before 1 September 1917—including Finland—we won't invade it; we will free it."

Further footage of speeches by Zhirinovskiy follow. Segodnya correspondent Sergey Parkhomenko comments on the LDP newspaper and the LDP shadow cabinet, stressing that the LDP's appeal is due to the absence of any other party offering what the people want. Parkhomenko, as well as all subsequent interviewed individuals, is captioned in English. After another clip of Zhirinovskiy speaking at a rally and stressing in an interview that he is a new face unconnected with the previous communist regime, vox pops are shown alternately praising Zhirinovskiy's honesty and criticizing him as an idiot. The commentary recalls the coup attempt of August 1991, saying Zhirinovskiy was then forced to retreat briefly from the political scene. Zhirinovskiy is shown in his campaign headquarters in the Hotel Moscow, and in his new building, guarded by bodyguards in German uniforms. The headquarters of the LDP youth movement are shown, complete with posters of Saddam Husayn and Jean-Marie Le Pen. Zhirinovskiy is interviewed on his meeting with Saddam, saying he was the first Russian to be received in Iraq at such a high level. He denies that the LDP volunteers he had sent to Iraq were terrorists. Shown speaking at a rally, Zhirinovskiy says: "Everywhere there are hotbeds of war, you find Americans. Everywhere you find diseases, they are diseases from America. AIDS is from America. Drunkenness and depravity is from America." He uses a large wall map to demonstrate how Russia is surrounded by enemies and must have access to warm-water ports in the south. "Here is a warm-water sea, the Mediterranean. Here are our Arab friends—our eternal friends forever, because they get support from us. For Iraq, Turkey is an enemy as well. Iran is an enemy to Iraq. Iraq was at war with Iran for 10 years, and we with Afghanistan. This is our most reliable allied country. Here is Europe. We have fought with the Finns, the Swedes, the Poles, the Hungarians, the Romanians - they all shoved their way in here. If ever we are to have a proper strategic ally for all eternity, it is Germany, which also wants to have warm water ports. Germany has already done it. Through Austria and Slovenia Germany has come out on the warm Adriatic Sea. Why could 80-million-strong Germany do it, while the 130-million-strong Russian people cannot?"

V. Akhimov, an LDP youth movement representative is interviewed in Zhirinovskiy's headquarters under a portrait of Saddam Husayn and Russian monarchist flags. He draws parallels between LDP policy and intentions and those of Hitler. "Our party arose in troubled times, and won its supporters by sure steps, just as Hitler's party arose in its time. Just in the same way, it won its supporters before it came to power. We also have a second thing in common. Hitler came to power by constitutional means, by elections, and our party also intends to come to power legally and by constitutional means. Third, Hitler pursued a firm ethnic policy. He favored the German race within Germany. We pursue the same policy, but in Russia. We want Russians to feel good in Russia."

After footage of Zhirinovskiy addressing a rally on the military strength of Russia, the youth representative continues on the theme of strong Jewish influence in the United States and in Russia and why it must be combatted. Zhirinovskiy is then shown telling a rally how Jews are to blame for both World Wars, but have so far failed in their original intentions of world domination. "The result of the First World War should have been Zionist hegemony. A world government was supposed to have been set up, but they were wrong. They thought that after Lenin there would be Trotskiy. Trotskiy agreed, but they didn't get anything from the communist ideal and the communist revolution. Then they prepared the Second World War, and the invasion of Poland and Czechoslovakia, that was all the beginning of the big war. They started it, they did. They thought they could overthrow the regime in our country, but again they got it wrong. They were wrong about Russia. Everywhere else they overthrew, they brought Germany to its knees. They kept Germany in their grasping prehensile hands for four years, and now Germany does not present any threat."

Sergey Parkhomenko comments on the difficulty of establishing Zhirinovskiy's background and the reasons he was imprisoned in Turkey. Zhirinovskiy in an interview is shown criticizing press speculation, and digging around overseas to find some means of discrediting him. He says he was arrested in Turkey for presenting badges to Turkish friends, but released without charge, and the whole affair has been blown out of all proportion by the Russian and foreign press. Walking along the Arbat, Zhirinovskiy criticizes the sale of KGB iconography, saying the KGB is the only organ capable of saving the country.

Ex-KGB General Oleg Kalugin is shown saying he has no proof, but he believes Zhirinovskiy has been recruited while overseas. "All I can do is judge by what my former colleagues have said. As far as I know from them, Zhirinovskiy was recruited by the military counterintelligence bodies of the KGB when young, when he was a translator in a Middle East country. There is nothing special about that."

Over more music, Zhirinovskiy is shown explaining the military-style uniforms of his followers by saying that they prefer it that way. Oleg Kalugin comments on Zhirinovskiy's background and the well-publicized claim that his "mother is Russian and his father a lawyer." The commentary goes on to insinuate that his father is Jewish, after a clip of an LDP official explains that the name Volfovich has German not Jewish origins.

The commentator says: "That well-known phrase by Zhirinovskiy about his father was a forced joke: An unceremonious journalist had backed him up against a wall. In Russia, a country rampant with anti-semitism, Zhirinovskiy answered without thinking to the question of who his father was - my mother is Russian and my father a lawyer."

Again in front of his wall map, Zhirinovskiy is shown speaking on the "ring of fire" on Russia's southern borders, saying any conflicts should be kept as far away from Russia as possible. He praises support for Iraq once again, and says southward expansion is essential for Russia. "If Russia does not move to the shores of the warm Indian Ocean and Mediterranean Sea, we will have a permanent threat from the south." "We only need one neighbor in the south—the Indian Ocean."

A long sequence of vox pops is shown praising Zhirinovskiy and his strength as a leader. Doctor Gerhard Frey of the German People's Union—DVU—Party, listed as a right-wing party, is shown meeting Zhirinovskiy on his birthday, intercut with a picture of a German newspaper article on international fascist links. Patriotic speeches are made by Frey and a Cossack representative. Replying, Zhirinovskiy says: "I would just like to add that, to bring our plans to fruition we need German precision and the courage of the Russian people." Concluding with a toast, he says: "To a German Prussia and a Russian Alaska."

Zhirinovskiy is then shown drinking to excess and singing off-key at ensuing celebrations. Visiting a wax museum, Zhirinovskiy is shown standing next to his own figure and others, including Yeltsin. He says all the others have already faded into history. Over footage of demonstrations, the commentary expresses anxiety at the rise of communist and fascist sympathies in Russia recently: "Some people may see this as an unfortunate joke, but recently the communists have raised their head in the country again. They are playing on economic difficulties, and calling the people back to Empire. Zhirinovskiy and his type are not the only ones to find their place under red banners. Nationalists of all colors, right up to ordinary fascists, are here as well."

After vox pops calling for the removal of Yeltsin, and film of enraged demonstrators calling for the cameras to be turned off and Jews to be removed from the country, the program ends at 1125 GMT, with captions in English and Zhirinovskiy standing in Red Square.

Zhirinovskiy Spoof Aired

LD1112171993

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1500 GMT on 11 December instead of the advertised 15-minute "Film-Premiere" program carries a six-minute program explaining the voting procedure at the 12 December elections and the structure of the Federal Assembly.

This was followed by a caption "Voter's Hour" which is a regular pre-election slot on Russian Television. There follows a seven-minute spoof election broadcast, in which the stand-up comedian Gennadiy Khazanov urges viewers to vote for the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR) and its leader, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. The camera pans empty desks in the studio, each with a

sign saying "Vladimir Volfovich Zhirinovskiy, LDPR" on it. Then Khazanov appears in the frame, sitting alone behind one of the desks.

Khazanov says he would have liked to see more of Zhirinovskiy on TV in the run-up to the elections, and suggests some of the programs in which the latter should have appeared. He also impersonates Zhirinovskiy as if appearing in the role of a dog in the children's show "Good Night, Children". He also makes a side-swipe at Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, who, he says, should have played Piggy on the same show.

The spoof puts particular emphasis on what was presented as Zhirinovskiy's empty promises of better life for everyone, and on his plans to restore Russia to its "historical borders"

At 1532 the same spoof is repeated in full on Russia's Radio, as part of the announcer's conversation with studio guest Khazanov.

Activities of CP's Zyuganov Before 12 Dec Reported

Gives Plan To Overcome Crisis

PM1012110993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Article by G. Zyuganov, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, under the rubric "Elections: The Program of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation": "How To Overcome the Crisis"]

[Text] In conditions of the all-embracing crisis the Communist Party of Russia is promoting a program to restore civic peace and legality and return the country to a civilized channel of development.

The fundamental interests of Russian society require the rejection of the destructive economic policy of the current federal authorities and its fundamental shift into the channel of national interests and the stable development of the country.

The party considers that the current crisis must be overcome on the paths of the socialist development of the country, of carrying out reform in the interests of the population of Russia and all its social groups and strata. Our country possesses the necessary natural, labor, material, scientific, moral, and cultural resources to overcome the crisis by relying on our own forces, and not on foreign capital granted on enslaving economic and political conditions. The basis of economic policy must be the rejection of "shock therapy" methods and a transition to a system of state regulation of the main spheres of the economy in combination with market methods of management on the basis of various forms of ownership, giving priority to its collective and social forms.

The main task is to stimulate commodity producers, reduce the inordinate taxes, which today reach 80 percent, and develop the production of food products, clothing, footwear, toiletries, medicines, and assorted children's goods.

To draw on new scientific development projects and high technologies, to stimulate the development of energy-saving and resource-saving production processes.

To preserve and develop the military-industrial complex' potential as a focus of new technologies, a base for the production of consumer goods, and a source of obtaining hard currency through the sale of weapons systems abroad.

To create a new system of production management—which rejects a "return to Gosplan [State Planning Committee]" and is not based on the new information technologies [as published]—on the basis of information analysis systems designed to issue recommendations to producers free from rigid bureaucratic plans but giving guidelines for the optimum level of output of a given group of goods and providing information on socially desirable or unacceptable trends of the development of a sector.

Land as a means of production and at the same time as a place to live is a national asset. It is transferred to the heritable possession and use of collective and individual users without the right to buy and sell. Only farmers' private plots and garden and dacha plots can be converted into private property with unlimited rights.

The state effects economic and informational regulation of the development of agricultural production and the agro-industrial complex with the aid of preferential credits and an investments and pricing mechanism.

A primary task is to raise the culture of the countryside and develop its social infrastructure, ensuring the retention of personnel and the stimulation of rural labor.

Defining the prospects in the sphere of the budget and prices, Communists proceed on the basis that a combination of centralized and regional administration of the economy will lead to a gradual reduction of the share of the federal budget in favor of the local budget. The most important items on the revenue side of the budget today could be the plugging of inflation channels such as the leak of monetary resources through the country's open borders, tax evasion, and losses incurred through liberalized foreign economic activity and through direct swindling and theft; the increase of hard currency revenue through selling high technology products and weapons systems abroad; and the progressive taxation of broking capital and large-scale private capital.

The return to Russia by certain countries of foreign economic debts, which would become possible if certain priorities in its foreign policy were changed, could also

be of notable benefit to the economy. Budget expenditure articles could be reduced through downsizing Russia's excessive administrative-executive apparatus and reducing expenditure on the maintenance and security of top officials.

One of the highest priorities is to stop the unchecked growth of prices through introducing state regulation of prices on basic groups of goods and moving toward real (not rhetorical, as today) state support for the poor and destitute strata of the population. The proportion of budgetary expenditure on major, socially significant goals (defense, science, education, health, culture, and social support) cannot be cut without consultation with the population and all-around expert scientific, economic, and sociopolitical study.

The reform of the financial system must provide for the normalization (in the interests of producers) of interest rates in state and commercial banks, the limitation of the emission of money to purely technical requirements, and the licensing of hard currency exchange centers (with the condition that transactions in Russia will be conducted only in rubles from 1994). The taxation system must provide for an increase in tax rates should a monopoly producer exceed a fixed profits norm.

Today heavier fines for poor quality goods and the introduction of efficient quality control for imported goods are essential.

The main avenue of foreign economic activity is the transition to a state monopoly of foreign trade (with the exception of individual groups of goods for whose production the necessary raw material, labor, and financial resources are available and the free export of which does not inflict economic damage on the country).

The main national resource for overcoming the profound crisis in the country is our labor. Free labor which ensures a dignified life for the working man, his family, and the state. Organized labor with full material remuneration and high moral value in society. Labor whose results are owned and controlled by the working people themselves. [Zyuganov ends]

The Communist Party of the Russian Federation was established in June 1990. Following a Constitutional Court ruling the activity of the Communist Party of Russia was resumed at the second restorative-founding congress in February 1993. There are more than 500,000 people in the ranks of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation. The leading organ is the Central Executive Committee. The chairman of the Central Executive Committee is Gennadiy Zyuganov.

Appeals for Soldiers' Votes

PM1012150993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Dec 93 p 3

[Article by Gennadiy Zyuganov, chairman of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation Central Executive Committee: "The Army Must Be Protected"]

[Text] The "Communist Party of the Russian Federation" election bloc is fielding 150 candidate deputies for the State Duma. They are representatives of a political organization which reflects the interests of working people and thus also army and navy personnel, whose labor—military service—is rightly considered one of the most difficult and socially necessary forms of labor.

I have no doubt that the defense aspects of our election program will be clear and comprehensible to every patriotic soldier because they are based on creating all the conditions needed to ensure the reliable and guaranteed protection of the state and the peoples of Russia from potential aggression.

It is no longer a secret to anyone today that with the disbandment of the Warsaw Pact, the disintegration of the USSR, and the separation of the Baltic region, Ukraine, and Belorussia [Belarus] the most important strategic defense frontiers have been destroyed. Essentially even the state's capital has become a border city and from the military-strategic viewpoint is inadequately protected. We certainly advocate only the peaceful development of relations with all countries. But no one has the right to permit indifference when it comes to resolving questions of the country's defense and security.

They do not tire of telling us that there is no longer a military threat from NATO. Even if that is so, there is in any event a military danger connected with the existence of a mighty strategic offensive grouping which in a different military-political situation could be used to strike at the heart of Russia. Suffice it to say that Russia has limited itself by the Paris Treaty: no more than 5,500 tanks and other armaments in the European part of the country. But a change in the military-political situation is not impossible. On the contrary, it is being confidently predicted by many political figures and analytical centers in this country and elsewhere in the world. I do not believe that anyone would presume to talk seriously now about the renunciation by the United States and NATO of strong-arm methods of resolving military-political problems, after "Desert Storm" and the events in Yugoslavia and Somalia.

All this demonstrates that we must urgently rebuild a reliable defense capability for Russia, but that is impossible without a well considered defense concept: Where should the Armed Forces be, why, in what numbers, and for what purpose. Here it is necessary to concretize the tasks of the Army and Navy and their functions (resolutely excluding police functions). People in uniform, the defenders of the motherland, can no longer be used as trump cards in the political struggle among the various parties and movements. The army must not be left exposed any more or left out on a limb, as happened in Tbilisi, Baku, Vilnius, and Moscow in August 1991 and in bloody October this year.

Now, more than ever before, our Armed Forces need moral support to ensure that an atmosphere of trust,

pride, and confidence in their loyalty to the oath reigns around them. The inculcation of an atmosphere of respect for the Army on the part of citizens must assume the character of a state program. This is extremely important also because a major continental power like Russia cannot guarantee its own protection by means of mercenaries. Only a people's army in which it is a sacred duty and honored obligation to serve can perform such a task.

Communists Disagree With Allies

MK1112113093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 2

[Dmitriy Kuznets report under the "Opposition" rubric: "Communists Fight it Out Alone. Agreement With 'Comrades in Struggle' Did Not Pan Out"]

[Text] The Communists' avoidance of the usual agitation media—TV, radio, and newspapers—of their own accord was forced. Not because of an "organized information blockade" the Communists refer to, but more because of a lack of funds. Be that as it may, the Russian Federation Communist Party [RFCP] virtually declined to buy air time on TV (only two slots were bought), stating that it would agitate "in verbally in the provinces." As Gennadiy Zyuganov, the party's leader, put it in a press conference yesterday, "The mass media are inaccessible for us, the opposition press does not appear—therefore we went to the regions ourselves."

Despite its agitation in the provinces and talks in Moscow, the RFCP failed to convince the radicals from Anpilov's Russian Communist Workers Party [RCWP] to drop the idea of boycotting the elections. Mr. Zyuganov still hopes, however, that "this did not cut the RFCP electoral base too much." As the Communists admit, agreements with the Agrarian Party of Russia [APR] on cooperation in the majority-vote districts were virtually disrupted. Candidates of both parties often simply refused to follow instructions from Moscow. And still, despite the tough competition against the APR, Mr. Zyuganov thinks that it is rural districts that remain the RFCP's main power base. "The Moscow- and Lenin-grad-type enclaves feed from selling off resources, whereas the brunt of Gaydar's reforms is borne by people who live on the soil. It is they who will back us," the Communist leader stated.

Communists To Cooperate With Factions

LD1112185993 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] If it wins seats in the country's new parliament, the Russian Communist Party will be willing to cooperate with all those factions which take a realistic approach to the national development.

The party's leader Gennadiy Zyuganov has told newsmen in Moscow the Communists will be cooperating with those who work for the territorial integrity of

the Russian Federation, act to avert a civil war, care for the advance of the Russian nation, and intend to take emergency action to fight crime. Along with that, Zyuganov rules out the possibility of cooperation with supporters of radical free market reforms.

Zyuganov Gives Foreign Policy Platform

PM1012173093 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Dec 93 p 2

[Article by G. Zyuganov, chairman of the Communist Party and of the Council of People's Patriotic Forces of Russia: "Russia's Revival and the International Situation"]

[Text] Paradoxical as it may sound, it is foreign policy that nowadays is one of the most important factors deciding the country's domestic position. You would have thought that our current troubles are of purely "domestic" origin and that present-day Russia inherited many of them from the "perestroika" of the Soviet Union, but....

The experienced gaze of the skilled politician unerringly detects the invisible bonds linking our current troubles with foreign policy factors and with the sphere, often concealed from curious outside eyes, which we customarily call the "sphere of international relations." If we fail to grasp the subtle, intricate, sometimes contradictory mechanism behind this sphere we will never be able to assess impartially and objectively the current geopolitical situation that is taking shape in the world, the balance of interests and forces, and, most importantly, their effect on the dynamics of the political, economic, and spiritual processes taking place in Russia today.

An integral understanding of the processes determining the current phase of world politics is an absolute precondition for the practical effectiveness of Russia's foreign policy doctrine. TODAY THE STATE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IS DETERMINED, IN OUR VIEW, BY THE FOLLOWING HIGHLY IMPORTANT FACTORS:

- the increase in global crisis phenomena in all spheres of man's activity—from the economy and politics to culture and religion;
- the disruption of the geopolitical equilibrium, of which Russia (the USSR) was the historical guarantor for the last three centuries;
- the beginning of practical implementation of the plans to establish a "new world order" which effectively envisages the introduction of a planetary system of political, economic and military dictatorship by the West led by the United States.

THE INCREASE IN GLOBAL CRISIS PHENOMENA is brought about at present primarily by the fact that within the framework of the current international economic mechanism the rate of depletion of nonrenewable resources, the destruction of the natural environment,

and the increase in population and social stratification have reached a level that threatens universal catastrophe and self-destruction for human civilization.

The path of development taken by the rich Western countries now populated with the "pampered billion" extremely affluent consumers is unacceptable and impossible for the rest (the overwhelming proportion) of humanity. Attempts to repeat it can only complicate the situation and speed up the denouement, since Earth's biosphere simply will not withstand such a strain on its energy and technological resources.

Today every person born in a "developed" Western country consumes on average 20 times more of the planet's resources than a representative of a "developing" state in the so-called "Third World." Three-fourths of the Earth's population account for just one-seventh of the world's income, whereas the United States for instance, inhabited by only 5 percent of the earth's population, consumes almost 40 percent of the raw materials extracted on the planet and discharges into the environment over half of all civilization's waste.

UN experts estimate that these "processes of economic growth give rise to an unprecedented level of prosperity and power among the wealthy minority," but at the same time lead "to risk and imbalance." In their opinion, "this development model and the corresponding nature of production and consumption are not stable.... Following that route can only lead our civilization to collapse." These claims were made by Morris Strong, secretary general of the UN Conference on the Environment and Development.

The justice of such alarming forecasts is compelling the West to vigorously formulate a strategy to enable it to sidestep the danger zone of development at other people's expense without giving up its own wealth and without reducing its level of consumption. This cannot be achieved without changing the balance of forces.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SOVIET UNION, ITS REMOVAL FROM THE WORLD ARENA, AND THE SUBSEQUENT DISINTEGRATION OF THE HISTORICAL GEOPOLITICAL EQUILIBRIUM WAS A KEY LINK IN THIS STRATEGY. Unprecedented in its scale, this action was also unique in terms of the forces and means used to achieve such far-reaching results. For the first time certainly in recent history, one powerful state broke up a rival of equal might without an armed conflict. Fundamental political change that would have taken a full-scale world war to achieve a few decades ago was achieved by organizing the ideological "collapse" of the enemy and the skilled use on the enemy's territory of social techniques of "creeping catastrophe" and "low-grade civil war."

A very important conclusion suggests itself: Mankind has entered a new phase in its existence. For the first time in its history it has attained a scientific and technical level which makes it feasible to carry out centralized, all-around monitoring of the world community's

most important vital functions, targeted ideological "programming" of whole peoples and states, and skillful and sophisticated manipulation on a global scale of the processes of "big-league politics."

The disappearance from the world arena of the stable and powerful Soviet Union, the only geopolitical heir of the Russian empire, irreparably distorted the "force field" of international relations and undermined the interstate balance of interests and forces that had taken centuries to develop and had made it possible to keep world politics on track for evolutionary predictable development.

Sovereign Russian statehood always served as a guarantor of international equilibrium. This is borne out with particular clarity by the long history of countless peoples voluntarily joining Russia—from the Moldovans and Georgians to the Kyrgyz and the Turkmen. Encapsulating within itself an entire complex and diverse world, Russia carefully preserved this internal wealth, logically striving to similarly harmonize the outside world. This does not of course mean a simplistic perception of the history of Russian foreign policy, in which there were various pages, including negative ones.

The 20th century, brutal and merciless, has left its inevitable mark on international relations. The dramatic, contradictory history of the USSR—both heroic and tragic—cannot be interpreted in an unequivocal manner either, but it is nonetheless quite obvious that by and large its geopolitical role throughout the decades was constructive.

What do we have as a result of "perestroika" and the breakup of the Union?

- The country's effective loss of its great power status and the emergence of dependence on outside forces.
- The loss of all former allies and an end to cooperation with most of our amicable partners—both political and economic.
- A drastic reduction in the level of state, national security in all the most important spheres—military, political, economic, and ideological.
- The strategic destabilization of the vast geographic area from the Baltic to the Caucasus, from Chisinau to Dushanbe.

That is just the beginning. The collapse of the Union state had a terrible impact on the whole world. The dangerous crisis in the Gulf, the civil war in Yugoslavia, the chaos in Afghanistan, the intervention in Somalia, growing expansionist claims by NATO and its leading members, the gradual transformation of the United Nations and other international organizations into an instrument of Western imperial policy, and the serious infringement of the interests of "Third World" developing states—that is a by no means complete list of its consequences. There is no need to talk about "nearby

foreign countries"—the conflagration of interethnic conflict and even full-scale war is flaring up in the former Soviet republics.

At the same time there has been a dramatic increase in the role of the United States, which blatantly aspires to world hegemony. Former territories of the USSR are declared a zone of U.S. vital interests (the Baltic), and the U.S. President has already appointed a "coordinator" to resolve disputes "between the former Soviet republics." Washington is cynically aggravating the split between Russia and Ukraine, dictating terms to Russia regarding shipments of high technologies abroad, imposing ruinous disarmament treaties on Moscow, and fanning the unbridled Russophobia of "national radicals" in outlying regions.

"THE PLAN TO ESTABLISH A 'NEW WORLD ORDER' HAS BEGUN TO BE IMPLEMENTED IN THE WORLD." In actual fact this means that behind-the-scenes world forces have embarked on determined actions to form a tough, centralized system for compulsory control of human civilization's development.

The very term—"new world order"—has been around some time, but it was first overtly introduced into public consciousness straight after the Gulf war, which showed the whole world that the USSR is henceforth the United States' "junior partner" in all strategic issues of international policy. The war in Iraq visibly heralded the end of the traditional bipolar world based on balance between the two superpowers and saw the opening of a new era in world politics. And this was the name chosen to describe it.

Subsequently, however, things somewhat slowed down as they encountered a number of problems: the stability of China with its billion-strong population, the heroic resistance of little Serbia, the guerilla war in Somalia, suspicion from the "Third World," and, most importantly, the unexpected stability of Russian statehood, which survived the maelstrom of catastrophes that engulfed the Union despite all the efforts by the West and its "fifth column" within the country.

According to existing information, several options are under consideration for using Russia in creating the "new world order."

The first one involves turning Russia into a raw material and intellectual satellite of the United States by increasingly drawing it into the U.S. political orbit, enabling Americans to be invulnerable to competition from Germany, Japan, and China, which are rapidly gaining clout.

The intention is to implant in the country a cosmopolitan regime expressing the interests of world capital and the local comprador bourgeoisie. Then it is intended to use Russia's military and scientific potential and have it perform the functions of a junior ally as a gendarme ensuring the advance of the "new world order."

In the event of the unsuccessful development of the "democratization" process in Russia and victory by

so-called "conservative forces," the second scenario involves unleashing military conflicts on the territory of the former USSR and along Russia's entire border with breakaway parts of the Union and tying Russia down with these conflicts.

What are the main conclusions to be drawn from the above?

First, the country's foreign policy must be considerably adjusted. Let us call a spade a spade: Today's foreign-policy line pursued by a narrow group of top officials in the name of Russia is not in the true national interest and is effectively geared to taking part in establishing a "new world order" on the planet.

It is this viewpoint alone that can provide the real explanation for the concrete steps by our Foreign Ministry leadership running counter to the country's national interests. This "good tradition" has been established in the foreign policy department since the bad old days of Shevardnadze.

Second, one must clearly realize that there are just two possible ways in which the situation can develop in principle. We have been virtually left no option and are faced with a tough alternative: Either we submit to outside dictatorship and lose our homeland, our honor, and our conscience, betray our people, our ideals, our hallowed precepts, and our glorious sovereign forebears, or we "take up arms against a sea of troubles," as Prince Hamlet said, which really means gritting our teeth, summoning up our strength and—as has already happened in our history—starting to build a new, autonomous great Russia from amid the ashes of our former glory.

A third conclusion follows logically and inevitably from this: A strategy is needed to escape from the crisis—a consistent, clear, and feasible strategy. And reviving Russia's foreign policy doctrine should be a most important component of this strategy.

The idea of national interest alone can be the basis of Russia's foreign policy concept. Incidentally, geopolitical stability on the planet should be ensured only by balancing the national-state interests of various countries. The close interconnection and interdependence of the modern world will enable no one to pursue a policy of national egoism (or of national nihilism, moreover). Such extremes disrupt the balance of forces on the planet.

RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY DOCTRINE should be a concept of "healthy national pragmatism" presupposing the implementation of foreign policy activity in line with our interests and potential. Within the framework of this doctrine we must direct our attention primarily to things that translate into political and economic advantage for Russia, remembering the lessons of the past, and avoid actions that will have an

excessive political and economic cost for the country, let alone cause it outright harm. At the same time this pragmatism must not degenerate into political unprincipledness but must be based on the principles of general human morality and ethics and the norms of international law.

The proposed doctrine should in our view incorporate the following fundamentally important components:

—Continuity in the country's foreign policy.

A new doctrine cannot emerge from nothing, it must embrace all the valuable and positive elements to be found in the international activity of both prerevolutionary Russia and the Soviet Union.

—Unconditional independence in adopting foreign policy decisions, which does not of course preclude consultations with other interested parties.

—Reliance on our own efforts. Naturally, this does not preclude the possibility of using foreign aid within reasonable limits on acceptable terms.

—Renunciation of the overideologization of foreign policy typical in particular of the Soviet period and the sometimes unwarranted geopolitical claims associated with it. Thus, the desire to promote, come what may, the ideology of the "socialist path of development" often caused political problems and material losses. At the same time one cannot help but see that "ideological tunnel vision" is fully characteristic of Russia's present foreign policy, albeit from the opposite direction, and moreover the "tunnel vision" has a foreign "slant."

—The development of foreign policy ties in all areas. Russia has an interest in developing relations with various regions of the world.

—Defense sufficiency, which implies the maintenance of Russia's military potential at a level ensuring its effective use as a flexible, mobile, and multipurpose instrument of foreign policy. However, we should pursue a course precluding the possibility that the country will again be dragged into exhausting global military confrontation.

—International policy must be geared to creating foreign policy conditions that provide the optimum opportunities for the stable, onward development of the country, the progress of the national economy, and boosting the people's standard of living. In principle the government of any sovereign state, regardless of its political and socioeconomic orientation, is faced with this task in its foreign policy activity, but it is being ignored in Russia today. Thus the hasty withdrawal (in effect, semiflight) of Russian troops from East Europe and the Baltics, during which our interests are often not even afforded minimum protection, has brought not only strategic problems, but also colossal material losses running into billions of U.S. dollars. The full

scale of this tremendous damage still has to be established, but at any rate the ordinary Russian citizen will inevitably bear the full brunt of it. There have also been tremendous losses because Russia irresponsibly joined in the sanctions which the West has imposed on Yugoslavia, Iraq, and Libya via the machinery of international organizations. According to existing data, our economy has incurred losses of at least \$18 billion as a result.

In order to shape and implement an effective foreign policy that accords with fundamental national interests, we must create conditions ensuring that various political forces, including those in opposition, can really participate in discussing, adopting, and monitoring the fulfillment of foreign policy decisions. The history of Russian diplomacy, including the recent period, provides convincing evidence that international actions formulated in secret by a narrow group of leaders have often done the country serious damage. Regrettably, this negative experience has not yet been overcome.

Ultimately Russian society should arrive at a situation where concern for the interests of the state's security, including via a measured foreign policy course, will be determined not by which forces are at the helm of the ship of state nor by what fuel powers its engines, but by ensuring that this ship does not end up at sea during a storm, hit underground reefs, run aground, or get crushed by ice. To be specific, regardless of a political decision, concern for the strength of the state and for preserving and strengthening its geopolitical position is a mandatory condition for its existence.

RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY ACTIVITY ON THE TERRITORY OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION must be geared to restoring a unified state—a renewed union of fraternal peoples open for everyone who wants to live peacefully in a common home to voluntarily join it.

The collapse of the great power and the insane pursuit of sovereignties have not brought any good for any people. Socioeconomic cataclysms, the drastic reduction in the standard of living, the bloody fratricidal conflicts, tremendous loss of life and material devastation, and millions of refugees are Soviet people's reward for the destruction of the USSR. The split of the Union and the severing of the close ties between peoples who lived as one family for hundreds of years look even more unnatural against the backdrop of the integration processes taking place in the world (West Europe, the Arab countries, and a number of other regions) brought about by the objective needs of social progress.

Needless to say, the reconstruction of the unified state must occur on a fundamentally new and strictly voluntary basis and the real equality of all peoples within it must be ensured along with the opportunity for them to fully implement their legitimate national aspirations. But in our view it is necessary to predetermine the specific forms governing the existence and functioning of

this union. These may be federative or confederative ties, or a combination of both structures. These questions must be settled by the peoples who have expressed a desire for mutual rapprochement themselves and by their plenipotentiary representatives. In our view, the process of reviving the union must not be artificially speeded up. It must develop naturally.

Russian policy's immediate task at the present is to revive the economic ties between the various republics of the former USSR severed as a result of the Belovezhskaya agreement. It is equally important to set about ensuring a common cultural, scientific, and information space.

In our view, Russia has a right and a duty to display concern for the interests of the Russian and Russian-speaking population which has ended up through no will of its own outside Russia. We act on the premise that any discrimination against this population—political, legal, economic, or whatever—is inadmissible and should elicit the appropriate reaction from the Russian authorities and the international community.

By and large all Russia's relations with the former republics of the USSR should be based exclusively on friendly political dialogue and bilateral and multilateral agreement.

As for the regional conflicts in the Transcaucasus, Central Asia, and the Dniester region, Russia can and should take part in resolving them, by predominantly political means. At the same time we must not pander to the bankrupt national rulers who want to stay in power at the price of Russian soldiers' blood.

Within the framework of Russian policy in distant "foreign countries" Russia's relations with the West—in view of the latter's role in the modern world—are of fundamental importance.

Certain Western circles and the mass media they control seem to be deliberately distorting the position of Russia's left-wing patriotic forces on this question, painting almost apocalyptic scenarios for the development of events in the world should these forces come to power. Our radical "democrats" are also contributing to this disinformation.

In actual fact Russia's left-wingers and patriots are not seeking confrontation with the West; we have not the slightest prejudice against the United States, the FRG, Britain, France, or any other country in this highly important part of the world. We value highly the achievements of Western civilization and are in favor of creatively taking on board all the valuable and useful elements created within its framework. Russia's left-wing patriotic forces are in favor of developing extensive cooperation with the West's states in various spheres based on equality and mutual advantage.

But any relations between states are a two-way street, and the nature of these relations is directly dependent on the stance of both sides.

We cannot close our eyes to the fact that the "new world order" being earnestly fostered by the United States and its Western allies objectively violates Russia's fundamental interests along with those of many other members of the world community.

In this connection I would like to stress that it is our profound conviction that it will hardly be possible to preserve the current situation of a "unipolar" (U.S.) world for any length of time. Even if Russia is unable for some time to restore its great power status the vacuum that has formed in the international arena as a result of the breakup of the USSR will inevitably be filled. The political and economic clout of such a gigantic state as China is increasing. Moreover, it is showing no inclination to toe the U.S. line. India has tremendous strategic potential and in years to come will increasingly make its presence felt. And Russia sooner or later—we firmly believe—will fully revive its might and its voice will once again ring out authoritatively in the world community. So there is clearly no point in gambling on ensuring long-term Western, in particular U.S., diktat in world affairs. And the sooner Western capitals realize this, the more favorable the political climate on our planet will be.

The West's policy of impudently interfering in our internal affairs and effectively promoting Russia's national humiliation is bound to be harshly rejected by all honest Russian citizens. You get the impression that the Western powers' current course is aimed at preventing the creation of an independent strong Russia altogether, whatever the political and socioeconomic direction of its development.

Western policymakers must realize how dangerous—not only regionally, but also globally—it is to try to disregard and infringe the underlying national interests of a power like Russia, much less work to dismember it.

All Russia's patriotic forces note with concern that the NATO military bloc has not only survived, despite the breakup of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, but is also expanding its activity. And independent Russia is bound to oppose this in its endeavor to overcome the mentality of "bloc thinking."

We consider it necessary to pay the closest attention to Russia's cooperation with the states of East Europe, which were for a long time, particularly in recent decades, closely linked to our country in various spheres. It is in the interests of both Russia and the countries of East Europe to preserve and develop these ties.

Russia's left-wing patriotic forces attach particular importance to developing ties with such highly important players in international relations as the PRC and India. These ties, with their good traditions and age-old

history, can act as a powerful stabilizing factor on the world arena and have a very favorable effect on the international situation.

We are convinced that Russia should also pursue an active policy in the "Third World," by cooperating in diverse areas with the developing states of the Near East, Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

In order to create a more favorable international political climate and on the basis of its own interests Russia must support developing countries' demands for world economic relations to be revised to make them fairer and for neocolonial and nonequivalent commodity exchange to be overcome in these relations.

All Russia's citizens who advocate positions of statehood and patriotism, regardless of their political views—right-wing, centrist, or left-wing—have an interest in an effective and independent foreign policy. In other words, a huge number of Russian citizens are interested in this policy. This creates an opportunity for extensive, long-term cooperation between various political forces in order to achieve the main objective—that of reviving Russia in a fraternal union of free peoples with the force and glory of its former sovereign grandeur, ensuring it a fitting place in the world community.

Yakovlev Confident of Democratic Election

BR1012175593 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 10 Dec 93 p12

[Interview with Aleksandr Yakovlev, former CPSU Politburo member and aide to former USSR President Gorbachev, by Enrico Franceschini in Moscow; date not given: "These Elections Will Be Democratic"]

[Excerpt] Moscow—[passage omitted] [Franceschini] Gorbachev said that Sunday's general elections will be neither free nor democratic. What do you think?

[Yakovlev] I think they are super-democratic. Even a party that was involved in two attempted coups d'état, in August 1991 and October 1993, the Communist Party, will be taking part. The Communists say that they are not democratic elections, because for 70 years they were the champions of democracy. There was a single candidate, approved in advance by the party committee, kept under surveillance by the KGB to whom he slept with: That was what democracy meant to the Communists.

[Franceschini] Did you ever advise Gorbachev not to criticize Yeltsin?

[Yakovlev] Very often. But he does not heed me. He has two choices. If he disagrees with what Yeltsin is doing, let him remain silent, because Gorbachev has already been president and has had his chance; he cannot now presume to lecture other people. However, if he is in favor of the reforms, he must support Yeltsin, because Yeltsin too is in favor of the reforms. As for how and when to carry them out, that is a subordinate problem.

You are Gorbachev, I would tell him, you already have a place in history; why do you want to join the chorus?

[Franceschini] Perhaps because he hopes to return to power: Gorbachev is not ruling out the possibility of standing again for the presidency...

[Yakovlev] If he wants to return to power, and thinks he can succeed in this by criticizing Yeltsin, he is making a big mistake. But I think that some people are provoking him, by saying: The people await you. But the people are not awaiting him at all.

[Franceschini] Some people say that these elections are not as "democratic" as elections in the West...

[Yakovlev] I disagree. In our country there are 13 parties competing; in Britain, there are three. And yet the British elections are democratic, are they not? In Italy politicians are accused of corruption, and the same happens here in our country: What is the difference? In America 50 percent of the electorate vote, while the other half abstain: Does anybody suggest that America is not a democracy? In our country maybe 60 percent of the electorate vote, yet some people will say that that is not enough.

[Franceschini] Do you consider it sufficient for the new constitution to be approved by a referendum?

[Yakovlev] We cannot permit ourselves to live without a new constitution. With regard to human rights, it is one of the best in the world. With regard to the division of powers between the president and parliament, between central and local government, there could be some improvements. But there will be time to change that later. Now it is essential to approve it.

[Franceschini] Would it not be better to entrust this matter to the new parliament?

[Yakovlev] In the past 70 years it was always the Soviet Parliament that approved the various constitutions. We have seen the results. Perhaps a referendum will have better results. I understand the criticisms of those who say that the constitution is being approved too hurriedly, many people will not even have read it, and many people will not vote. But that too is a free choice. Years ago a citizen risked imprisonment for saying that he would not cast his vote. Now everyone can make their own decision: This is the greatest gain of our reforms.

[Franceschini] Boris Yeltsin promised an early presidential election in June 1994, then canceled it. Is he entitled to remain in power until the end of his term, in 1996?

[Yakovlev] I think so. Another election campaign in six months' time? When will we set to work? Also I consider it right for Yeltsin to finish what he has started. In 1996 he will be judged on the results, with no excuses.

[Franceschini] Are you not worried about the Russian president's authoritarian attitude?

[Yakovlev] I have never known anyone in power that is not authoritarian. And he becomes more so in the absence of the bodies that are supposed to monitor him. That is why I say that we must elect a new parliament right away and approve a new constitution.

[Franceschini] What is your opinion of Yeltsin?

[Yakovlev] I do not like to express opinions about individuals. The problem in Russia is not individuals, but our centuries-old history of totalitarianism. Each of our leaders is simply the child of his own time. We must feel sorry for Boris Yeltsin because the modern era has placed a dirty and heavy burden on him—to destroy the past and create the new.

[Franceschini] Is there not a greater danger that the past will return?

[Yakovlev] No. The train is already in motion. Any attempt to halt it—as in 1991 or in October this year—is bound to fail. Perhaps some will try again to slow the train by clinging to the last car, but they will not succeed.

[Franceschini] Not even if a new Stalin were to emerge?

[Yakovlev] Stalin was perhaps the greatest scoundrel of the 20th century. But he was no fool. If he were to be reborn now he would spend a week reading the newspapers and looking around, then I am sure that he would behave differently.

[Franceschini] What would you do differently if you could return to the past?

[Yakovlev] I would start perestroika from agriculture: first the land problem, in order to feed the people, then all the rest.

[Franceschini] Perhaps the Politburo would not allow you to do so...

[Yakovlev] That is exactly the answer that Gorbachev used to give me. I would suggest to him permitting private farming enterprises, together with the state kolkhozes, and he would object: "Do you know where you and I will end up with this proposal of yours?" He was not entirely wrong. But we could have had it approved using a few expedients. For instance, by offering youngsters 50 hectares each in the unexploited countryside, in the villages that are being abandoned, where only the old people are left. I am sure that those areas would have been repopulated soon. And they would have produced much more than the kolkhozes: That would be enough for us to silence the Politburo and to introduce land privatization on a large scale. Unfortunately, however, this is only starting now. Better late than never.

PRUA, CP Candidates Removed From Election Lists

PM1012165793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Clarifications Continue"]

[Text] The Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission reports: In accordance with Article 25 of the Statute on Elections of Deputies to the State Duma in 1993, Anatoliy Vladimirovich Mostovoy has been excluded from the federal list of candidate deputies to the State Duma from the "Party of Russian Unity and Accord" electoral association on the grounds of a decision of 7 December 1993 of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord Federal Council.

In accordance with Article 25 of the Statute on Elections of Deputies to the State Duma in 1993, Lyudmila Aleksandrovna Zhadanova has been excluded from the federal list of candidate deputies to the State Duma from the "Communist Party of the Russian Federation" electoral association on the grounds of a decree of 8 December 1993 of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation Central Executive Committee.

Yavlinskiy Views Economic Reforms, Constitution

AU1212195293 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 11 Dec 93 p 10

[Interview with Grigoriy A. Yavlinskiy, leader of the Yabloko Bloc, by Elisabeth Heresch; place and date not given: "Private Enterprises Instead of Mafia"]

[Text] [Heresch] Is a program for economic reform in Russia possible without shock therapy?

[Yavlinskiy] Previously it was theoretically possible. Now it is too late and practically impossible.

[Heresch] What is the difference between Gaydar's program and yours?

[Yavlinskiy] We proceed from different principles. I consider the dissolution of the federation with the republics a mistake. Politicians cannot ignore the 25 million Russians living outside Russia. Moreover, my ideas about economic policy are different. I accord priority to the stabilization of the ruble. It is necessary to stop its decline and price increases through basic changes in the economic system. Private property and private enterprises must be given priority—not symbolically, but because people only feel responsible for what they own. The semistate enterprises that are now being established as a result of consumer demand are linked through their owners, and the old monopolies have merely been replaced with new mafia monopolies.

[Heresch] What are the goals of your program? Are you following the recommendations of the IMF?

[Yavlinskiy] We have not failed because we adapted to or because we failed to adapt to IMF requirements. However, the IMF did not say a word when absurd things happened. Thus, it was useless to reduce the central bank's money in circulation to stabilize the currency while the other banks circulated as much money as they wanted to. I do not promise any results in three months. I announce my program for the next year or the next one and one-half years in advance—as I did with my "program of 500 days."

[Heresch] What are the most important aspects of a new constitution for you?

[Yavlinskiy] The right to personal freedom, the security of our country, the right to private property, the legal stipulation of a restructured economic system, and, above all, the form of our federation—to prevent a collapse of our country. Some republics in Russia demand independence and sovereignty. Yet 89 regions cannot be sovereign and belong to Russia at the same time. On the other hand, the right to self-determination and cultural autonomy must be granted.

[Heresch] What about the often-mentioned idea of a Russian Republic?

[Yavlinskiy] This is naive and dangerous. Where should one draw the borders? Should the Russian population be separated from the non-Russian one in that event? In addition, Siberia, the Far East, the Urals, central Russia, and the northwest are the core of Russia and the country's foundation. A republic must by no means be created on the basis of ethnic viewpoints.

[Heresch] With whom do you consider an alliance conceivable?

[Yavlinskiy] According to my experience, politicians find my ideas attractive but shy away from implementing them—no matter whether they are called Gorbachev or Yeltsin. Yet no real reform is implemented by prompters. I am ready to cooperate with anybody who shares a minimum of my ideas—not only for three months or so. I am interested in the efficient functioning of the mechanisms of the market, the complete demonopolization of the market, and in the state structure, that is in a solution for a united country—a country that does not collapse every time its leaders fall sick.

Civic Union Chiefs Try To Explain Failure Before Poll

MK1112110093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 2

[Aleksey Kirpichnikov report under the "Dissidents" rubric: "Mourning Before the Funeral. A Split in Civic Union?"]

[Text] Yesterday's conference at Civic Union's central office entitled "Political Violence as a Factor of Strengthening Authoritarianism in Contemporary

Russia" began academically by an introductory report on the subject "Democracy and Violence," which gave a theoretical framework to the events of 3-4 October.

Then Oleg Rummyantsev and Vasily Lipitskiy, politicians from the first dozen of Civic Union's list, who will thus enter the State Duma automatically if the bloc clears the 5-percent hurdle, were given the floor and spoke about the elections.

Mr. Rummyantsev made a paradoxical forecast: "Russia's Choice" will garner 12 to 14 percent of the vote and will be opposed by three parties at the State Duma: Travkin's Democratic Party, Zhirinovskiy's Liberal-Democratic Party, and the Communist Party, each of which would grab even more votes. Consequently, the former senior secretary of the Constitutional Commission said, the State Duma will either be marginalized by the current authorities by political and information means, or it will serve as society's detonator that will set off another election.

The reporter emphasized that after five and a half years of democracy in Russia (from 5 April 1988, the beginning of a salvo against Nina Andreyeva, to 21 September 1993) a long period of authoritarianism has set in: whether under Yeltsin or anyone else. The speaker predicted new elections for both the Federal Assembly and the presidency soon. "Our leader is not immortal," Mr. Rummyantsev said.

The reporter believes it is high time to draw up plans for taking part in the future showdown between the two kinds of authoritarianism—that of the current authorities and the opposition at the State Duma. "We have bungled the elections," he said. In the lobby, Mr. Rummyantsev spoke in an even harsher tone, saying that "Civic Union has been sent packing," and wondering how they could have taken it into their heads to make Mr. Volskiy the centerpiece of the election campaign.

Vasily Lipitskiy was visibly softer in criticizing his leaders: He called for pardoning the coup plotters of 1991 and of 1993, and also the cruel Special Purpose Militia Detachment members of 1993, and complained that the idea of breaking the vicious circle of violence, which his colleague, Oleg Rummyantsev, and he voiced long ago, had not been promptly embraced by the top leaders of Civic Union and has only recently pushed its way to the masses.

On the whole, both prominent politicians accused Civic Union's traditional leaders of being too unwieldy and incapable of conducting an election campaign, which was particularly manifest against the background of Mr. Zhirinovskiy and even more of Mr. Travkin, whose party managed to occupy the centrist niche that Civic Union had out of inertia seen as its own.

Vol'skiy Interviewed

PM1312120393 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 2

[Interview with Arkadiy Vol'skiy, president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, by Nikolay Kozhanov; place and date not given: "Realists Versus 'Romantics'"]

[Text] How can the economy be protected from political instability and the reforms from ill-conceived experiments? That apparently somewhat abstract formulation of the question was nevertheless clearly expressed in the speeches at the recent congress of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs [RUIE]. To a large extent it determined the election program of the "Civic Union for Stability, Justice, and Progress" bloc. As is well known, this bloc is headed by Arkadiy Vol'skiy, president of the RUIE. The following questions were put to him.

[Kozhanov] Arkadiy Ivanovich, the leaders of "Civic Union" tirelessly stress to all and sundry their commitment to the reforms that are being carried out in the country. But is that not also what the leaders of "Russia's Choice" who now stand at the helm of power are dinning into us day and night? What makes the industrialists and their allies openly declare their disagreement with the ruling elite and spoil relations with it, an activity which, as the latest experience shows, is a far from safe thing to do?

[Vol'skiy] Yes, but there is something else which is even more dangerous. The tragedy of the present situation is that the economy has essentially become a complete hostage to politics. Furthermore, as I have already said a number of times, the whole country and all our people have become hostages to the arrogance and ambition of certain politicians.

[Kozhanov] What is so seditious about that? They taught us, as you will remember, that politics is simply the concentrated expression of economics....

[Vol'skiy] Perhaps they were right. But in this case politics has become, unfortunately, the "concentrated expression" of the most dire mistakes and failures in the economy. Mistakes which our ambitious "reformist romantics" flatly refuse to admit as they promote a course disastrous for the country with a zeal worthy of some better application. Who could have imagined that in just a few years, and in peacetime too, Russia would have lost almost one-half of its industrial potential!

"Civic Union" has quite a few complaints about the present government of Viktor Chernomyrdin, but look at the legacy it inherited from its predecessors—heaven help us! Now the government and in particular its sectoral ministries are working literally to the limit of their capability trying somehow to slow the descent into the abyss and bring the country out of the state of "shock" into which it was plunged by the pro-reform

monetarists during their first period in power. But they, quite unabashed, are back in the saddle again and hurtling toward the Duma, the Federation Council, the premiership, and the presidency. There are serious reasons to fear that the "second coming" of Gaydar and his team to the state's top posts will be a national disaster for Russia.

[Kozhanov] Is that picture not unduly gloomy?

[Vol'skiy] Just listen to them. When speaking in Finland recently, Finance Minister Boris Fedorov fearlessly and even almost with pride announced that next year "10 million Russians will be unemployed." This is presented as a boon for the reforms. It will mean a reserve army of labor and an incentive for production. In short, everything will be just like it is in their beloved West. One can only wonder why it does not occur to our erudite reform theoreticians that only a rich and prosperous country can permit itself the luxury of mass unemployment. Is it really not clear that Russia, stifled by poverty, slump, and gaping holes in the budget, will not be able to feed so many "surplus" people and that as a result what we might get will be not a "reserve army of labor" but a social base for new eruptions.

Yet the president, speaking in the government recently, called for a "reliable barrier against social upheavals" to be built, and as his speech made plain, it was not tanks and other "forceful arguments" that he had in mind.

[Kozhanov] I can already hear your opponents' reply: "Everyone imagines himself a strategist as he surveys the battlefield from the sidelines. But do those people have anything better to offer? Just you try to 'control' a machine like this!"

[Vol'skiy] Well, the final phrase is one that you certainly will not hear from them. They have taken a death grip on power, so to speak. But we do not claim, as some do, that the situation in Russia can be rectified overnight. The abyss into which it has been dragged is too deep. But the "ascent" must begin right here and now.

As for an economic and social program, "Civic Union" has one, it has been published in the press, and it was reexamined and approved by the recent RUIE Congress. The fact that many people are unfamiliar with it is a direct consequence of the harsh blockade in which we have been placed by the politicians who have taken virtually total control of the country's information sphere.

[Kozhanov] Nevertheless, you support the market, they support the market....

[Vol'skiy] But who does not support the market nowadays? However, we are convinced that economic reforms cannot be implemented through a violent revolution which disregards people, superimposes foreign experience, and flouts the country's traditions. Both the market and privatization are for us not an end in themselves but

a means of reviving the production of goods and services and of increasing economic efficiency.

Efficiency—that is the most important thing for us. And then come the various forms of property and its distribution. Then comes ideology. For example, is it necessary to break up the strong kolkhozes and sovkhozes simply because they were “thought up by the communists”? The same goes for the social sphere, free education and health care, and children’s institutions—after all, the extreme reformers are destroying literally everything.

[Kozhanov] Do you think that this is being done consciously or on purpose? Like the bolsheviks only in reverse, as it were: “Let us raze everything to the ground and then”?...

[Volskiy] I would hope not. Russia’s problem is that since 1991 the key posts and the real power in our country have been held by economists of the monetarist school and senior scientific associates who sometimes have quite a good theoretical grounding but know absolutely nothing about the realities of life in the plant or in the countryside. Specialists with a good understanding of material production were forced into the background. We all know what comes after that: Our “romantics” wanted everything to go as well as possible but... “on paper there were no hitches, but they forgot about the ditches.”

However, our election platform is based on the view that sober realists must take control of the levers of government of the country and that you cannot build democracy in a starving country. This means that the very first thing to do is to create an integrated and durable system of social protection, guarantee every Russian indexed income and pensions no lower than the minimum subsistence wage, and securely block the processes of mass impoverishment, lumpenization, and people’s physical and spiritual degradation. The means for that will come from an improved system of taxation and, of course, the comprehensive development of production and industrial enterprise, which should be counterposed to the extremely profitable speculative brokerage which holds sole sway today. There is an urgent need for a strong agrarian policy, and here we express complete solidarity with people in the country.

[Kozhanov] All that is fine. But here is a question for a realist: How realistic is it for your “Civic Union” to stand its ground alone in the elections against “Russia’s Choice,” which may be a home for “romantics,” but “romantics” who control real levers of power and the full range of “agitation and propaganda”?

[Volskiy] Well, in the first place, we are not going into the elections alone. In addition to the RUIE, “Civic Union” also includes six public associations: the “Renewal” Union, the Russian Social Democratic Center, the Association of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs of Russia, trade unions in forestry and construction and the construction materials industry, and the

“War Veterans for Peace” movement. Incidentally, just 19 percent of the candidates on our federal list are from Moscow, unlike the rest. We are fielding 86 candidates in single-seat districts. They are top-notch professionals—eminent scientists, economists, industrialists, workers from the military-industrial complex, and business people who profess the principles of conscientious competition and business ethics.

These are people who are worried about Russia.

These are people who know what must be done to extricate the country from the crisis and how to do that.

Life teaches us all not to trust people with hatred in their eyes, whether they are radical democrats who care only about “crushing the vermin” or ultraleft extremists who are ready to launch a new war to “exterminate the rich.”

We are submitting our platform to public scrutiny and putting forward our people in the confidence that the people of great Russia will have sufficient wisdom and common sense to judge the situation correctly and make the right choice.

Volskiy Previews Prospects

LD1212153193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1438 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] If the constitutional referendum is not held or the new basic law fails to win the required number of votes, the introduction of direct presidential rule is no tragedy, Civic Union [CU] leader Arkadiy Volskiy told Interfax at his election district in Moscow.

However, he declined to speak about possible voting results in elections to the Federal Assembly. Volskiy said anything could happen given that some 40 percent of the electorate was still undecided while Russia had little experience in multi-party democratic elections.

The CU leader said half of the 13 alliances were riding on a similar election platform and that the divide between pragmatists had increased the chances of populist groups.

Volskiy believes his alliance has the chance of performing well in one mandate constituencies and winning from 25 to 30 seats in the lower house of parliament, the State Duma, hoping it will have a sensible majority.

Movement for Democratic Reforms Political Program

LD1112045293

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2040 GMT on 10 December carries a five-minute program explaining the makeup of the new Russian parliament and giving detailed instructions regarding voting procedures.

Immediately afterward, an announcer introduces a paid party political broadcast of the Russian Movement for

Democratic Reforms. It includes a brief address by Gavril Popov, one of the party's leaders, who spoke about the importance of democratic opposition at the current stage of political situation in Russia. This was followed by short extracts from interviews with Anatoliy Sobchak, Svyatoslav Fedorov, Oleg Basilashvili, Dzha-khin Pollyyeva, Aleksandr Yakovlev, and Yuriy Luzhkov. The interviews are repetitions from previous broadcasts. The broadcast lasted for 10 minutes.

Sobchak Addresses Electors

*LD1012192793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1442
GMT 10 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Fomicheva]

[Text] St. Petersburg December 10 TASS—St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak addressed electors on behalf of the Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms (RMDR) as the election campaign in Russia was drawing to an end.

The address circulated on Friday says that "plans and intentions of some political leaders have caused the RMDR's concern over the fate the country and its people. Most Russians have been excluded from the reform process and they see no personal interest in them. Much of the population has been insulted by its poor material and social position."

The RMDR leader believes that the main task of the State Duma is to preserve peace in Russia, involve all citizens in the state reform process and restore confidence in the authorities.

He believes that it is necessary to oust an insulting notion of "low-income people" and liquidate economic conditions infringing on people's dignity.

"Putting into effect a new constitution to stop violence in Russia is one of the most important tasks of the new parliament," Sobchak said. By voting for some or other political bloc, a new constitution or ignoring elections you will be making a choice between war and peace, poverty and prosperity, justice and violence, Russia's international recognition or its isolation from the world," the address says.

Travkin's Party 'Prompting' Voters in Moscow

*LD1212150993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1438
GMT 12 Dec 93*

[Text] At the polling stations No 918 and 920 of Moscow (Severnnyy boulevard, school No 958, Northern elections district No 199) the supporters of the Democratic Party of Russia (Travkin's party) distributed promptings for the voters with direct indications on whom to vote for. An Interfax correspondent who lives in the area immediately after he got the ballots was approached by a person who gave him a leaflet entitled "Better with us!" In this leaflet the Northern department of the DPR suggests to vote in the two mandate electoral district for

an "expert in city economy management" Nikolay Gonchar against whose name there was a typographically printed cross. The same cross was printed against the name of the DPR (Leaders N. Travkin, S. Govorukhin, O. Bogomolov). As for the elections to the State Duma at the one mandate electoral district the voters were suggested to vote for a "politician of 1963 year of birth" Dmitriy Rogosin and for the candidate to the Moscow City Duma "chief of the social center of the Moscow Soviet" Andrey Savelyev born in 1962. The Interfax correspondent did not follow the prompting but he had a chance to see how the prompting was copied by many elderly voters. The executive secretary of the electoral commission whom the Interfax correspondent approached for explanations did not see an "offence" in the fact since the promptings, in his words, were not distributed by the members of the commission and he was "unawares" about how did they get into the hall where the voting took place.

Women of Russia Bloc Leader Explains Role, Aims

*LD1012201593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1555
GMT 10 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow December 10 TASS—Russian society is not accustomed to female politicians, as it is the first time in the Russian history that women participate in the elections as an independent election coalition.

The Women of Russia bloc includes the Union of Russian Women, the Association of Business Women and the Union of Women in the Navy.

The Union of Russian Women is the successor of the Committee of Soviet Women. The other two organizations appeared several years ago.

The federal list of the bloc candidates has 36 names, among them head of the Union of Russian Women Alevtina Fedulova, Russian president's adviser for family, women and children affairs Yekaterina Lakhova, actress Nataliya Gundareva and poet Rimma Kazakova, as well as female scientists, lawyers, teachers, physicians and production heads from various Russian areas.

The bloc aims at a human-oriented state policy, family values, social protection, morals, order and safety.

"We do not acknowledge female or male policy and privileges for women are not our aim," said movement leader Alevtina Fedulova. In her opinion, it is impossible to build democratic society without the account of women's interests in a state that has 52 per cent of women.

A reason for their joining of the election marathon as an independent bloc is that women amount to only 8.8 per cent in the lists of other blocs and coalitions and their names are usually at the end of these lists. Besides, the

female coalition claims women have not compromised themselves in politics as men has.

There are plenty of problems to be solved. Women amount to 73 per cent of the Russian unemployed and their average wages and salaries are only three fourth of the average male salaries.

Women of Russia were a first to collect 100,000 signatures, half of their supporters are men.

Election Programs for Various Parties Compared

PM1012144693 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA

PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 93 p 1

[Sergey Razin article carried under the general heading "Only Three Days to the Elections, and Even Less Time Until the Total Ban on Canvassing. Therefore We Hurry To Report That—": "The Consumer Basket Is Groaning With Promises"]

[Text] Quite properly, on the eve of the elections all political blocs are promising the people quick and easy reforms and the brightest future. But what is really in the economic programs of the various parties and movements?

The "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" Bloc

Although the leader of this bloc became a dab hand in compiling economic programs back under Gorbachev, this time no one has seen a serious economic document from Yavlinskiy. On the other hand many fine words have been said on this score, the gist of which boils down to the meaningful phrase: "Many unsuccessful laws need to be changed and the government should be instructed to work differently."

As his first act Yavlinskiy intends to slightly expand and accelerate privatization: to get rid of vouchers and sell state property for real money and not to the whole "kolkhoz," that is to say, to labor collectives, but to the bosses with their bags of money.

Of course, after such a shift privatization would take off at a crazy pace; commercial banks, exchanges, and other structures—including mafioso structures—would take the state sector in hand in the twinkling of an eye. Possibly this route to capitalism is the shortest from the point of view of economic efficiency, but in real life such a redivision could lead to civil war.

With privatization for money, almost all directors of the state sector, labor collectives, and budget-funded workers would miss out on the market economy. The sharp and spontaneous stratification into poor and rich would most likely blow the country apart like a powder keg.

"The Party of Russian Unity and Accord" (Shakhray's Party)

The leader of this bloc has especially taken a fancy to "rational protectionism." True, he does not reveal himself in his party platform, but it is not hard to gather what this term means, seeing that it emanates from Vice Premiers Shokhin and Soskovets. In the upshot we will get capitalism of the style of the beginning of the century, which will quickly degenerate into the domination of state monopolist corporations. Something like this is already happening: The Volga Motor Vehicle Plant is hiking its prices and foreign competitors are shut out by customs dues, and as a result the economy is closed, isolated, and it is the consumer who suffers the most.

Even the majority of marketeer directors no longer support the slogan "active industrial policy geared toward sectors capable of becoming the locomotives of economic growth." We have had all this already under Ryzhkov and Pavlov, and where this policy leads is demonstrated to all the world by Ukraine.

The Democratic Party of Russia [DPR] (Travkin's Party)

This party has a comprehensive economic program containing a large number of bona fide market ideas, but which are often marred by various contradictions.

Travkin's key idea is rigid state control over the economy in the transitional period; otherwise mafioso groups and oligarchies crushing all competition will arise. The aim, of course, is noble, but world experience shows that if a weak state tries to interfere with economic life, that is when the mafia begins to spread like wildfire—at the crossroads between the feeble center and the private sector.

As for oligarchies, "rational protectionism," which is also dear to Travkin, would most likely lead to their rapid growth.

The demand that priority be given to the development of export sectors is rational, but these "locomotives of recovery" for some reason must be determined not by the market or consumer demand, but by the all-powerful civil servant. Obviously, the wave of corruption would take on new heights given such an approach.

The DPR's least comprehensible standpoint is on inflation: Its bundle of slogans is written in such a way that the measures proposed could both provoke hyperinflation and extinguish it. However, after the elections the DPR's program will most probably be modified to suit the victorious blocs.

The Agrarian Party of Russia [APR] (Leader—Lapshin)

This is a lobbyist party, expressing the interests of large farms. The APR's platform is very like the official documents of the CPSU: The people are promised a fine life, but when and at whose expense is not stated.

But the essence of the program is clear even to the uninitiated: Agrarians are "for the preservation of production complexes in the countryside"; they are against private ownership of land and against compulsory changes in the form of ownership—including kolkhoz-sovkhoz ownership. True, at the same time, the leaders of the "agrogulag" have not omitted to promise support for private farming...

The Liberal Democratic Party (Leader—Zhirinovskiy)

Possibly free vodka and beer will make Zhirinovskiy's party attractive to some citizens. But, blowing away the froth on your free beer, you should remember that a loaf of bread will at the same time most likely be dearer than a television set. The situation is not redeemed by the global sale of Russian arms, the production of which Zhirinovskiy intends to increase in place of conversion. This is a senseless action—even as it is, Russia produces enough arms to exceed world market demand several times over. However, pistols and assault rifles, like vodka, could be handed out for free...

It cannot be ruled out that these "goods" will be needed: How else is it feasible to ban trade by migrants from other regions and restore old economic links on the scale of the CIS without taking account of market laws? To "strengthen the state sector," Zhirinovskiy-style, means to give industry into the hands of a "Seaman Zhelezn-yak" [anarchist-Bolshevik] of a new type.

"Russia's Choice" (Leader—Gaydar)

If this bloc is victorious in the elections to the Duma, social tension in several sectors, especially those undergoing conversion, will intensify, mass bankruptcies will begin, and the state sector will be taken under the wing of commercial capital. The "Menatep" bank, which has taken control of Perm's "Avisma," is only the beginning.

A tight financial policy will be maintained, but within 12-18 months a growth of investments in industry and the rapid development of the private sector is entirely probable, and this will ease unemployment. The most attractive point for citizens in Gaydar's program is big incentives for individual house building.

As we see, the political blocs have a mass of platforms of every kind, but among this plethora there are two incompatible poles around which Duma deputies in all probability will unite. "Russia's Choice" stands at one, and the "Agrarian Party of Russia" at the other. In the final analysis the country's future depends on how these two irreconcilable forces divide up the seats between them.

Party Leaders Appeal Against Rise of Extremism

LD1012195893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1725 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Unscheduled announcement read by announcer]

[Text] Esteemed television viewers! The leaders of the following electoral blocs: Russia's Choice, the Russian

Movement for Democratic Reforms, and the Yavlinksiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc, concerned at the growth of extremist and fascist moods in the country, have signed a joint appeal to their fellow citizens.

It reads:

"We are going through a difficult period in the reconstruction of our economy and political system. In these conditions, irresponsible adventurers, appealing to the basest instinct and promising simple and quick solutions, unfortunately are making themselves heard. The spiritual heirs of Hitler today have the chance to become deputies to the State Duma. That will be a constant factor for destabilizing the social situation. That will be betrayal of the memory of those who fell in the Great Patriotic War. That will be shame on all of us. The electoral blocs which we belong to have different points of view on how the problems facing Russia should be resolved. But no matter what the differences between us might be, we are all united in regarding resistance to fascism as a priority task for any citizen and any democratic organization.

"Therefore, we call on all who hold dear civic peace and human dignity to take part in the elections and to vote for the reformist blocs. On our vote hangs whether the fascists will take the tribune in the parliament of Russia."

That was an appeal by the leaders of the following electoral blocs: Russia's Choice, Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms, and the Yavlinksiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc.

The appeal was signed by Yegor Gaydar, Anatoliy Sobchak, Sergey Kovalev, Victor Sheynis, and Aleksandr Yakovlev.

Round-Up on Regional Election Activities

LD1012142293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1105 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] Kazan—Rashid Akhmetov who hopes to win a seat in the State Duma on a ticket from the Tatarstan branch of the Democratic Party of Russia has sent a letter to President Boris Yeltsin suggesting that the three branches of power be provided seats in different cities of the Russian Federation. Moscow is overcrowded both as a megapolis and as a capital, Akhmetov said. The process of real federalization calls for decentralization. Akhmetov proposes making Nizhniy Novgorod the home of the State Duma and Kazan the seat of the Federation Council. He is confident that some additional outlays for technical purposes will be fairly soon recouped and all Russia will benefit from the move.

Vladivostok—According to the press service of the Pacific Fleet, the first to cast ballots in the parliamentary elections and the national referendum on the new constitution were servicemen in remote outposts far removed from big garrisons and even units along the

Pacific Coast. Lighthouses and hydrography posts are not within easy reach either. Their personnel have already done their civil duty along with the crews of the ships far out in the ocean and the servicemen who will spend December 12 on patrol and combat duty. Several thousand people have already voted.

Novgorod—The region is fully prepared for voting in the elections and the referendum, according to the officials of the local electoral commission. There is only one hitch—the telephone cable linking the electoral commission with polling sites on the other bank of the Volga has been damaged and engineers are now working double time to restore the link.

Yekaterinburg—The voters in Yekaterinburg will get five, not four ballot papers when they come to the polling stations: the city authorities want to know what citizens think about renaming ten streets in central Yekaterinburg. As it is voters are not enthusiastic about either the renaming or the poll on it. They think the money should better be used to fund the communal services in the city. Many ask questions about reasons behind the proposal to scrap such street names as "Decembrists" commemorating patriotic nobility of the early 19th century or Mayday Street. The personnel of some local electoral commissions have refused to count the votes on street-name play.

Brjansk—Local police are ready to maintain law and order on the election day, according to regional police chief Major-General Alexander Rusakov. He stressed that adequate measures will be taken against anyone attempting to picket or block polling sites on Sunday. Potential trouble-shooters known to the police will be warned in advance to behave on the day. For all that, the police will remain politically neutral and attend only to its immediate task of maintaining law and order, the general said.

Tambov—Local sociologists forecast quite an impressive turnout in the region, which will be duly confirmed by a group of international observers from the North Atlantic Assembly. The group of observers led by British Lord Lucas Chillword includes an American, member of the Assembly's Military Committee Thomas Petzold, and a French woman Catherine Gucher, director of the committee on civilian affairs.

'Home Stretch' in Election Campaign Viewed

LD1012211693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1715 GMT 10 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS analyst Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow December 10 Tass—The pre-election marathon is entering its home stretch in Russia. From midnight December 10 all agitation for or against the draft constitution of Russia is banned and from midnight on Sunday, the day of the election and referendum, all pre-election battles waged by the candidates and their supporters must end.

For the first time since 1917, Russia will be electing members of parliament not only by a simple majority of votes in favour of one or another candidate but also by party tickets on the basis of so-called proportional representation, (under which electoral coalitions which clear the five-percent barrier will get a number of seats in the parliament in proportion to the percentage of the total votes they win).

The Federal Assembly will consist of two chambers. The upper chamber, the Federation Council will consist of 176 deputies from duo-mandate constituencies (two from each of the Russian Federation's component parts). In fact, there are 89 component parts of the Federation, so the total number of parliamentarians in the Federation Council should be 178, but the Chechen Republic has refused to take part in the polls.

The lower chamber, the State Duma will consist of 450 members, with 225 of them elected in one-mandate constituencies and the other 225 appointed from party tickets.

The Central Electoral Commission registered 13 coalitions for participation in the elections. They can be roughly broken down into Russia's version of the left-wing, right-wing and centrist divisions. The democratic (left) wing is formed by Russia's Choice led by Yegor Gaydar, the Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms (the Popov-Sobchak party), and the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc. Despite numerous forecasts by political scientists, the democratic forces have failed to form a single electoral coalition and thus passed up on the opportunity to secure a majority in the Federal Assembly.

The centre of the political spectrum is represented by the Civic Union and the Democratic Party of Russia (the Travkin party). They have adopted the role of opposition to the present government of the Russian Federation, criticizing the reform course and attacking shock therapy. The centrists favour an evolutionary way for the development of the country.

The right-wing grouping is represented by the Communist Party of the Russian Federation led by Gennadiy Zyuganov, the Agrarian Party, and the Liberal Democratic Party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. These groupings are either nostalgic for the Soviet era with its planned economy and the collective and state farm system (as are the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and the Agrarians) or for the former great Russian empire (as is the Liberal Democratic Party).

The other electoral coalitions—the Women of Russia, the party of Dignity and Charity, KEDR (the Constructive Ecologist Movement), and Russia's future-new names—are based not on party principles but on gender, age or social groupings.

Experienced politicians forecast that the new parliament will be far from homogenous. It will contain, like a new Noah's ark, a pair of every political species. It should not

be overlooked that the 13 electoral coalitions include representatives of 91 political parties. Even if seats in the Federal Assembly are won by deputies from only seven-to-nine coalitions—as expected by some experts—they will in fact represent tens of parties covering the whole political spectrum. Anticipating this possible electoral outcome, President Boris Yeltsin said in his televised address to the nation on Thursday that he was ready for constructive dialogue with all political forces in the Russian Federation under one condition: the cause and the interests of the country must be above all else.

The Federal Assembly will be filled by candidates who received the greatest number of votes, regardless of the overall percentage.

As concerns the constitution, it is not so simple. The constitution will be considered as approved in the referendum only if it wins the approval of an absolute majority of the voters who cast their ballots.

Now that one day is left before the popular vote, the fate of the Federal Assembly and the constitution no longer depends on politicians. It is fully in the hands of the voters.

Parties Pay for Airtime During Campaign

PM1012101393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Dec 93 First Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "How Much Politicians Have Spent on Buying Airtime"]

[Text] Each of the 13 movements and parties taking part in the election campaign was granted one hour of free airtime. In addition, each party or bloc could exercise its right to paid, commercial airtime without restriction.

Today we publish a table showing which parties took this opportunity, and to what extent.

The cost of one minute of airtime on the "Ostankino" television company is 707,000 rubles [R], and on the "Rossiya" All-Russia State Television and Radio Company it is R632,095.

	"Ostankino"	"Rossiya"
Russia's Choice	180 million	44 million
Party of Russian Unity and Accord	77 million	77 million
Liberal Democratic Party of Russia	90 million	59 million
Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms	50 million	40 million
"Civic Union"	30 million	39 million
Democratic Party of Russia	30 million	34 million
"Russia's Future—New Names"	10 million	49 million

Those are not final figures. Programming continues. As of now the other parties and blocs have only used free airtime.

Commentator Assesses Main Party Postures

PM1012100393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Dec 93 First Edition pp 1,4

[Article by Otto Latsis: "On 12 December Russia Will Choose Whether To Forge Ahead Into the Future or Slide Back Into the Past"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA has finished publishing the materials of meetings in the editorial office with the leaders of political organizations that have registered their federation-wide district party lists for the upcoming parliamentary elections.

We did not get visits from everyone: some were not interested in having the chance to communicate with our readers, some were too late finding the time in their election appearances schedule—when we were no longer able to publish the materials. The last to make it was Yegor Gaydar, having just flown in from the Kuzbass.

But we had not committed ourselves to presenting every last leader. The majority was represented, the entire political spectrum was represented: supporters of the reforms being carried out in the country, their opponents, and the parties tending toward the center. When preparing the pieces, the editorial office adhered to the general rules applying to these materials, the chief one being that the guests were treated fairly. Our own attitude to particular issues, which we at IZVESTIYA have made no secret of—we support the policy of reforms—was expressed only in our questions in the said materials, and not in direct comments on the answers.

Now that the meetings are over, comment is obviously needed. No, we do not intend to give marks for what the speakers said. The voters will give their assessment of the candidates; our job is to assess the ideas put forward during the election campaign, and not only those that were aired within IZVESTIYA's walls.

As it happens, there was no serious discussion of foreign policy in the election debate, unless you count the distinctive ideas of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, about which our paper has already expressed its opinion. No detailed debate unfolded either on the draft Constitution and other issues of domestic politics. It all boiled down to the statement (or denial) of an obvious fact: Even if someone sees shortcomings in the draft, it is better for a new state like Russia to live with the Constitution than without it. Moreover, in such highly important spheres as, for example, the protection of human rights, the draft undoubtedly means progress for us. In the end, what formed the basis of the election debate was arguments about the policy of reforms and, above all, about economic policy, which is perfectly natural in the present situation. What is more, several principal propaganda

stereotypes emerged, and these were the focus of the battles that unfolded. It is these that require comment, in our view.

Stereotype number one: The reforms must be carried out, but rather more slowly, without the "shock therapy."

The thesis is not new—quite old, in fact—but amazingly hardy. During this election debate it assumed concrete form: It was proposed that financial stabilization be carried out not in a year, as the government is planning at the moment, but in three years. But we have already spent two years struggling for financial stability, so the precise formula should be as follows: Not in three years, according to current plans, but in five years.

Let us clarify the criteria: We are talking not about stopping inflation altogether, but about reducing it to 3-5 percent per month, which means 40-70 percent per year. This would not mean normal economic life, but at least it would mean the possibility of moving on to a normal life. It would even be possible to come up with an approximation of the depreciation of the ruble over an investment cycle of years, rather than months or weeks. It would be possible to establish real, favorable interest on credit and it would be possible to restore saving and investment incentives.

So financial stabilization is not a fetish invented by armchair academics and imposed on our life for reasons of theory. It is in fact something very practical, without which normal production development is impossible. There is no need to demonstrate that without it it is impossible to solve any social problems, since the only social stratum that might benefit from continuing inflation is currency speculators. In the light of this it is impossible to see why overcoming inflation is decried in "shock" terms, while there is no shock involved in prolonging it for years.

A bit of history—very recent, but liable to be forgotten amazingly quickly. Originally the initiators of the reforms promised to calm the wave of inflation within 6-8 months of the start of price liberalization. A little later, in talks with the IMF, the period was extended to one year, but forecasts turned out to be amazingly realistic, if you recall that in 1992 inflation fell from 350-400 percent in January to 10 in July-August. Success was so near, so possible, but the opportunity was missed. Many people must share the responsibility for this. The ignorance or deliberate populism of the majority of people's deputies, who were much more successful at handing out money they had not earned than at seeking sources of income, were factors. The pressure from the sectoral lobby, particularly the military-industrial and agrarian lobbies—pressure applied not least through members of the government—was a factor. Indiscreet promises by the Russian president were a factor, but the spring and summer handout of subsidies and preferential credits wrecked the 1992 financial stabilization with the finishing line in sight.

Then there was the year without Gaydar, when no progress was made on financial stabilization—it is a good thing, though, that it did not go into reverse and plunge into the pit of hyperinflation. Finance Minister Boris Fedorov deserves much of the credit for keeping inflation at a stable level of around 20-25 percent per month by maneuvering on the verge of committing a foul against parliament's cash handouts. Now the government has returned to its former goals in a situation where their implementation is clearly a realistic prospect and it is clearly impossible to go on living with an inflation that is wearing everyone down.

The most amazing thing is that it is certain authors and initiators of the "500 Days" program—which, in my view, Mikhail Gorbachev made a fatal mistake in rejecting—who are now saying "don't rush" financial stabilization. Now the government's proposed financial stabilization one year from now, three years from the start of the reforms, is being called "shock" treatment, whereas the "500 Days" program envisaged eliminating the budget deficit—the main cause of inflation—in three months. And that was entirely realistic.

Stereotype number two: Production above all must be protected, not ruble stability.

It is a logical extension of stereotype number one. And the answer to it is close to the answer to number one: What kind of production development do you get given this kind of inflation? What kind of crank is going to make investments in production, repayable years later, when only the swiftest speculation is going to guard against inflation? But that is not the whole story. The strange opposition between two goals that are essentially not contradictory at all—protection of production and protection of ruble stability—has a very definite underlying cause. We are not talking about the protection of production in general but about the protection of production that receives state orders, paid for out of the budget, state subsidies, and preferential state credit. We are talking about the protection of certain sectors of the economy and certain group interests by imposing an inflation tax on the whole of society, on the whole of the national economy.

Let us be frank, we are talking primarily about the protection of arms production. Some participants of the election debate are demanding this publicly, talking about saving the scientific-technical potential that is concentrated in these sectors and about preserving the defense capability. But experts long ago demonstrated that the old structure of USSR military expenditure did not meet these two goals. Of the three areas of military expenditure (upkeep of armed forces personnel, defense research and development, and ongoing industrial production of types of armaments that have already been developed), expenditure on personnel, on first-class military cadres, takes first place in the United States, for example. Research and design work comes second. Arms production beyond certain limits is not only senseless in peacetime but is also harmful, because the types of

armaments the forces receive cease to be secret as far as a potential enemy is concerned. It is much more useful to have types of arms that are developed and ready, but have not gone into industrial production, as well as flexible production capacities, so that you can swiftly organize the mass production of something the enemy is not expecting. But the structure of the USSR military budget was quite unlike the U.S. one. It saved on military cadres and on defense science for the sake of the constant growth of the military industry. The military-industrial complex started operating not so much for defense as for its own reproduction.

The militarization of the economy ultimately undermined both defense might and the economy. An excessive burden was placed on the very political system that had created it. The materials of one of the editorial office meetings cited a figure: In 1992 tank production in Russia was cut by a factor of 34! What had it been, then? Our country had produced almost as many tanks as the rest of the world put together. From the viewpoint of the economic burden it can be said that last year Russia emerged from a war that had lasted—as far as we were concerned—for half a century. Why maintain that kind of production?

Stereotype number three: You have to maintain physical production, not intermediate trade.

Two of our guests displayed very clearly their adherence to this view. Democratic Party of Russia leader Nikolay Travkin generally had some very harsh things to say about the expansion of the trader class: "Is their emergence commensurate with the loss of almost an entire generation orientated toward trade rather than creative labor?" So then—the labor of those who give us hope of less time spent standing in line (our generation was "lost" in these lines, if it comes to that!) is not deemed to be creative? No, it is not that hopeless. Concerning his native Shakhovskiy Rayon, the head of its administration has proudly stated: "Trade turnover has increased as a result of privatization. Instead of 11 stores there are now 67."

The position of Agrarian Party leader Mikhail Lapshin was another common theme. First he said: "The kolkhozes and sovkhozes used to produce a massive surplus, used to overproduce. But an essentially mismanaged society was unable to deal with these products properly. Massive losses would occur, but outside agriculture." A little further on he condemned the current priorities: "The money is there, but it is money in circulation and not in production." But where else do you direct the money if, as Lapshin himself correctly observed, the main losses do not occur in production? Transportation, processing, storage, and sales have become the main spheres in which losses occur, because they are backward areas. People have been saying this all along, but the priorities of the "planned" economy were determined by political rather than economic considerations. It was thought that the main thing was to produce

as much as possible, then everything would kind of fall into place. If this prejudice has been finally demolished one can only rejoice.

I do not intend to be malicious about the aforementioned contradictions. I cannot even say that, in view of this contradiction, Travkin or Lapshin are definitely not right. I want to use these examples to demonstrate one thing: The problem is complex and multidimensional, and adherence to old Soviet dogmas does not help matters. It was arbitrary political preferences, fostered by the primitive distribution system ("production is good, trade is bad") that mangled the structure of the economy and ultimately mangled people's lives. You have to allow the market to work, so that the preferences of consumers rather than officials can emerge and a rational structure take shape.

Stereotype number four: You cannot rely on market forces alone, you also need state regulation.

This thesis tacitly assumes that Russia is governed entirely by spontaneous forces and the state has been driven off the economic stage. We are talking about a country in which the state has a bigger share of all physical production sectors than in all the other developed countries—still has, despite the unprecedented pace of privatization. We are talking about a country where not only has the liberalization of prices in the most expensive sector of consumption—housing—not been completed, but it has barely begun. We are talking about a country where the licensing system of enterprise registration, offering boundless opportunities for bribing officials, holds sway; where, in foreign trade, the system of quotas and licenses, as a well-known entrepreneur aptly put it, enables one to "appoint someone a millionaire"; where there is still a mass of sectoral ministries—a phenomenon that is totally unknown to the world of the market economy. If we are threatened by some spontaneous force, it is the spontaneous force of "state regulation." It was this that gave rise to the barely functioning Baykal-Amur Railroad, which gobbled up a generation's labor, gave rise to the canals turning swamp into desert and desert into swamp, and gave rise to the world's biggest production of uncompetitive machinery, along with many other "achievements."

There is no doubt that state regulation is necessary. A system of taxes, customs tariffs, interest on credit, distribution of expenditure through the state budget—this is what you call regulation. But what some politicians are proposing under this splendid name is merely a rehash of bureaucratic tyranny. The social import of these ideas is simple: preserving the lever of redistribution of national wealth in the interests of one's own social group.

Stereotype number five: Reforms must not be carried out at the people's expense.

If by reforms you mean primitive accumulation by grabbing the people's assets, if it means creating a new class of owners not by labor and knowledge but by nomenklatura privatization—then these "reforms" must

not be carried out at all, at anyone's expense. Everything at the state's disposal must be used to counteract this. This is not reforms, of course, but something that acts as a parasite on them.

But if we mean actual reforms, in particular the restructuring of production, then—if we are to be frank—at whose expense can this be done if not that of Russian citizens? Zhirinovskiy, admittedly, promises to work various miracles in three months or in six months. But whenever he was asked the simplest questions during the meeting in the editorial office—what he based his calculations on—the answer turned out to be nothing. Simply a bluff, intended for gullible people.

But if one gets rid of the stereotypes, it has to be said that there is no easy way to a better life. But there is a sure way that is not excessively long. It is linked to the adoption of a new Constitution and the consistent implementation of market reforms. Russia faces a difficult choice, but it is also an opportunity for achieving better things.

12 Dec Election Crucial for Country's Future

PM1012150193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Dec 93 First Edition pp 1, 2

["Viewpoint" article by political observer Lev Kornev: "Brief Lull in Prospect"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Russia has been sitting on a political volcano for too long. On several occasions it has threatened to disgorge molten lava and engulf the whole country. It appears that the "subterranean" forces that drive it also have a stake in 12 December. What would suit them are two opposite results: Victory for the parliamentary candidates with vaguely or strikingly communist programs and...the failure of the elections and of the referendum on the Constitution.

Both these outcomes would be disastrous for Russia. All the words have now been uttered and the arguments advanced amid the high emotion of the election and a brief lull is in prospect, which conceals the moment of truth. The voters are about to have their say. There are more than 100 million of them and they live in Russia's vast expanses, covering 11 time zones.

In the "good old days," which have been harked back to of late, election campaigns were unpretentious affairs and the elections themselves were a simple matter. Nothing depended on them anyway.

Now an inordinate amount depends on whether we go to the polling station and how we vote. Indeed, in the elections we will choose not only specific people, but also the road our country will follow after December 1993.

In the past 40 months Russians have had to make several choices—faced with a new test, it is useful to remember this. The year 1989, when, contrary to the opinion of the still omnipotent CPSU Central Committee and despite

frantic resistance from the party apparatus, Boris Yeltsin was elected to the All-Union Congress of People's Deputies, is part of history. In 1990 Russians elected him to the All-Russian Congress of People's Deputies, and the Congress elected him chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet. In August 1991 Russians overcame the putsch, and it was not at all as feeble as it appears now, in hindsight. Only recently, in April, our people made yet another choice in favor of democracy, contrary to the hopes of the motley opposition.

These are all milestones in our modern history, and the planting of them in Russian soil was witnessed by a single generation: An arduous process, not without doubts, but with a profound belief that our Russia would become a democratic country. Each one of us must remember these milestones when he goes to the polling station and picks up his ballot paper. After all, we know the way forward will be hard and it is easier to turn back, except that this would be the feeble option.

It only looks as if we have to choose between parties or blocs, between this or that candidate. To be frank, we had never heard of some of the parties until yesterday, and others are so small that they are visible only on the highly magnified election screen. No, the choice is between the past and the future, between the likelihood of a return to socialist pseudodemocracy and genuine democratic values.

Let us remember that.

I would venture to suggest that we have not had free elections since the days of the 1917 Constituent Assembly, and we have not had a democratic parliament either. Several generations of Soviet citizens "voted" obediently and unanimously, their submissiveness clearing the way for the next claimants to unlimited authority. On 12 December we will go for the first time to the first free elections following the total collapse of the communist dictatorship. They cannot be "sterile," free from various imperfections, but can't you see what is most important? The political volcano will at last fall silent.

The concept of freedom is not a concept that means that its own suicide is permissible and inevitable. It means that there is a type of freedom which is impermissible: That is the freedom to destroy freedom.

Arthur Lovejoy, philosopher and founder of the American Association of University Professors.

Any kind of boycott of the referendum on the Constitution would be deadly dangerous for Russia. Our ship would not stand another hurricane. What we need desperately is a respected Constitution that works, stable power with authority, and confidence that we are on the right track.

The Western press is trying to predict the election result. Here is one forecast: The democratic blocs will obtain a small majority, the Communists and agrarians could

well get one-fourth of the seats in parliament, and nearly 20 percent of the seats would go to insignificant, small parties, including nationalists.

I hope this forecast is wrong: If it is right, the confrontation will continue, will embark on another circuit.

People for whom Russia's future is a heartfelt concern are worried: What if the referendum on the draft Constitution does not produce a sound result, what if among the multitude of parties the "apathy party"—indifference—wins the day.... But that should not happen. All hopes are pinned on Russians' common sense, on life's having taught us well to distinguish the wheat from the chaff. It is time our young democracy developed a "protective instinct"—learned to protect itself. And we Russians thought not only about today, but also about the future of our fatherland.

The word "Gorbymania" has been included in the new edition of the Oxford Dictionary. It is defined as excessive enthusiasm for Mikhail Gorbachev or his policy. We have been through that: Looking at life through rose-colored glasses, prisoners of mirages and empty promises. I hope too that we have learned to select the most realistic of the multitude of political alternatives. Which, today, is to say yes to the Constitution. Since the freedom to destroy freedom is usually a characteristic that suicides possess.

Left-Leaning Parties Said Gaining Strength

MK1112101093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 11
Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Leonid Sedov, of the All-Russia Center for the Study of Public Opinion, under the "Forecast" rubric: "Russia's Choice Stays in the Lead. Election Barometer Predicts Swing to the Left"]

[Text] The moratorium on the publication of the results of public surveys, unfortunately, denies readers the chance to having objective data on voters' intentions. Conceived as a means to prevent an immoderate impact on the voter, it on the contrary gives wide scope for all sort of conjectures and biased remarks from the candidates, like Mr. Zhirinovskiy's claim that his party would get 45 percent of the seats, or Mr. Romyantsev's claim that only 10 percent of people in Russia support the draft constitution.

In the following political forecast of the outcome of the State Duma elections on party lists, we will try to avoid this sort of bias by bringing in data that were published earlier by the All-Russia Center for the Study of Public Opinion and by other public services, information from the regions, monitored audiences' reaction to what the leaders of electoral blocs and parties said, and to their programs, as well as this author's own political intuition.

One can confidently claim that the Russia's Choice will come in first in the election race. Not without losses, though. Whereas at the start of the race they spoke about

the chance of winning about a third of the votes cast, real final results indicate a victory with somewhat less than a quarter of the votes.

The biggest sensation may prove to be a second-place showing for Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party of Russia. Threatened throughout the campaign with not being able to overcome the 5-percent qualifying margin, this party, thanks to its leader's outstanding populist activity and the efficient use of the mass media, has, it seems, shown the ability to make a powerful finishing spurt, and it may more likely than not get at least 15 percent of the votes—leaving behind the Yavlinskiy bloc, which confidently stayed in second place all along the road but lost part of the electorate owing to a rather slack campaign effort. Not more than 13 percent of participants in the voting, it seems, will vote for "Yabloko." The Russian Federation Communist Party and Travkin's Democratic Party of Russia will appear in the final composition of this half of the Duma among the listed blocs and parties, scoring half the votes they hope for but managing to clear the 5-percent limit. The Women of Russia movement and Shakhrai's Party of Russian Unity and Accord have some chances of crossing the finish line with barely more than 5 percent. As for the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms, its chances are rather illusory.

The remaining parties, including the once allegedly "mighty" Civic Union and the Agrarian Party of Russia with its hundreds of thousands of registration signatures, will go without seats, at least in that part of parliament which is to be formed on the proportional principle.

The forecast is thus considerably less optimistic from the point of view of the democratic and reformist forces than the hopes raised by the results of surveys in the early stages of the electoral contest. The reason being a gradual involvement in the electoral struggle of voters who at the start were undecided. They are, as a rule, members of the more conservative sections. The democratic (right-) wing parties—if you exclude the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, which gravitates to the center—will obviously not be getting the more than half the Duma seats they expected, and these were considered easier to get into than in the majority of electoral districts. But then some 40 percent of the seats may go to that opposition that is close in spirit to the implacable opposition in the former Supreme Soviet (from Travkin and on to the left, with half of these seats held by Zhirinovskiy supporters). Given this balance of forces one can hardly hope for peaceful coexistence of a reformist executive branch and the new forum of legislators.

It is yet to be determined, but will be as soon as possible after the ban of open discussion of public opinion is lifted, the causes of this abrupt swing to the left by the deputies in the course of the election campaign. Today one can only say a few words about the unexpected success for Zhirinovskiy. The extreme and super-active populism of his election propaganda has won him

backing from a certain part of the conservative-nationalist part of the electorate aged mainly 25 to 40 with a high school and vocational school education, among the managerial circles and the jobless, and from the regions in Russia's south where many former Rutsokoy admirers will give their votes to him.

Key Blocs Rely on Analytical Centers for Campaigning

MK1112144093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 4

[Yevgeniy Yanayev, Olga Garbuzova report under the "Election" rubric: "Research Centers Have Also Been Drawn Into Struggle"]

[Text] The period during which electoral associations had the right to campaign expired yesterday. According to KOMMERSANT-DAILY information, only five of 13 electoral blocs actively used advice from analytical centers. The rest have bet either on the popularity of their leaders or on support from certain social groups—women, the youth, or rural voters.

Only the five largest electoral associations—"Russia's Choice," the Party for Russian Unity and Accord [PRUA], "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" bloc, the Civic Union for Stability, Justice, and Progress, and the Russian Federation Communist Party resorted to services of analysts and image makers.

Entirely naturally, "Russia's Choice" proved to be in an advantageous position. Not only because the authors of the electoral scenario are its members, but also because it started preparations for an election campaign as early as the summer of 1993. Moreover, research has been done not only by independent scientific centers, but also by experts from the presidential administration and the government. The bloc's electoral campaign has been directed by a staff set up on the basis of the Liberal-Conservative Policy Center. Among other things, it was the staff that made the decision on backing up a campaign video clip by Aleksandr Malinin's song, and it approved drafts of electoral materials. It is yet unclear, however, who is the author of a poster where Yeltsin and Gaydar are shaking hands. The ideology of "Russia's Choice" election campaign was devised by Gennadiy Burbulis's "Strategy" center and the Institute of Transition Period Economic Problems.

The PRUA under Sergey Shakhrai also had a possibility to make use of services provided by government experts. Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin's staff prepared a brochure entitled "PRUA in Questions and Answers," which spells out the party's views on the most diverse problems (even on the problem of the existence of God). Other analytical institutions, such as the Political Technologies Institute and Strategic Analysis Center, recommended that the party spend the major part of its election funds on printing and distributing leaflets and having party advertisements published in the mass media.

The "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" bloc and Civic Union themselves represent formidable analytical centers (EPI-Center and the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs respectively). In the opinion of "Yabloko" analysts, the key to a successful election campaign was to be their leader's photos. This is why their advice to Yavlinskiy was to agree to grant interviews only on condition that his photo will also be published.

The Communist Party has also launched a very energetic analytical and expert-aid effort. In all, it involved more than 150 people, but, unlike other associations, the communists do not disclose their analytical centers. It is known only that their materials were devised by academic institutes in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Novosibirsk, and also in the Siberian branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

Voting Procedures, Turnout

Yeltsin Casts Vote, Expects 60-65 Percent Turnout

LD1212091093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0752 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 12 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin was one of the first to go to polling station 56 on Miuskaya Square in downtown Moscow on Sunday. He inserted his ballot paper into a ballot box at 08.40.

In response to a question from an ITAR-TASS correspondent, Yeltsin said he voted "in a good mood, with optimism." The president's opinion is that 60-65 percent of the electorate will participate in the polling and that the new constitution will be adopted.

Yeltsin expects that a parliament, which is now being elected, will be "more intelligent and politically educated".

Kozyrev Comments After Voting, 'Sure' Draft To Pass

LD1212224693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2050 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who cast his ballot at one of the Moscow constituencies on Sunday evening, is sure that the "constitution has passed". He said so answering the questions put by Interfax. It could not be otherwise, he said. Let's wait and see about the rest, but I am sure that the Russia's Choice bloc will win and Democrats will get most seats in the State Duma. The Minister has said the voting activeness of Russians in the CIS and Western countries is very high. All Embassies work normally. We were worried by the situation in Romania, but latest reports say that the situation is also normal there, he said.

The minister said that in many republics people understood that both citizens of Russian Federation and those who applied for Russian citizenship could take part in

the elections. In some Embassies people come to cast ballots and at the same time write applications for Russian citizenship, said the Minister.

Kozyrev has described as a disappointment the fact that supporters of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy make a good showing. Let's hope those are not latest figures, he said.

The Minister believes the character of relations between the State Duma and the Russian president will depend on the composition of parliament. The president is willing to have constructive relations with the Duma, he said.

Asked whether the results of the elections will affect Russia's foreign policies, the Minister said that Russia's foreign policy is pro-president in essence and it will be such. Russian Foreign Ministry is very interested in a responsible parliament. We need cooperation with parliament and its critical remarks, he said.

Answering to another question put by Interfax, Kozyrev has said that if elected to the State Duma from the Murmansk constituency, he will urge that a Russian programme be adopted containing an item about a bonus for Russians working and living in Russia's polar zone. The regional amendment was formal in the government's policies and in the activities of the former parliament. The bonus must be much larger, he said. Murmansk should be soon made a "show-window" of Russia, and there are all necessary conditions for that, said the Russian Foreign Minister.

Sobchak Interviewed After Voting for New Constitution

LD1212145693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1440
GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] Sunday [12 December] morning a leading member of the Movement for Democratic Reforms, St. Petersburg's Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak, cast his vote for Russia's new constitution. He said so in an interview with journalists.

"To me it was no question, since without a new constitution Russia would be plunged into political turmoil for a long time to come," the mayor said. "However what we need now is a quiet life and work aimed at overcoming the crisis."

If the voter turnout is good, the draft constitution will collect the necessary 50% of the vote, Sobchak said. But if the new constitution fails to be adopted, the State Duma and the Federation Council will proclaim themselves as Constituent Assembly and start working on the wording of the fundamental laws, till they adopt them.

Even in this case there will be no real danger of a civil war in Russia, Sobchak pointed out. He thinks however that, if the new constitution fails to be adopted now, this

will serve as a signal for all the opposition forces - communists, nationalists and separatists - to launch a struggle against the democratic system and make another attempt to seize power.

Sobchak has no doubt that the Movement for Democratic Reforms will surmount the 5% ceiling and get seats in the parliament. He said, however, that no bloc will gain parliamentary majority.

In his city, St. Petersburg's mayor said, the elections are proceeding well, without irregularities, conflicts or pickets promised by the communists and other such organizations.

Zorkin Casts Vote for Party Opposing 'Extremism'

LD1212135793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1322
GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] Ex-chairman of the Constitutional Court Valeriy Zorkin, who has taken part in voting already, told Interfax that he had cast his vote for "one of the political parties which oppose extremism". He said it was neither Russia's Choice, nor supporters of Anpilov or his like. It is a party advocating civic concord and reforms on the basis of justice, he said.

"We have found ourselves on the crossroads," said Zorkin. "Now Russia is governed by people who would like to get to the paradise without building up bridges," said Zorkin. Russia has always lived this way, never willing to wait, he added.

However, healthy conservative traditions are very strong in Russia, he went on to say. "I hope they will gain the upper hand," said Zorkin.

He also said that the constitution was likely to be approved during the referendum. "If it is not, it is not very important who will adopt it - the Federal Assembly or some special constituent assembly. The most important thing is that the draft constitution be discussed and finalized without any haste," stated Zorkin.

He believes that the new parliament's main task is to lay a normal legal foundation for economic reforms. He is convinced that reforms will be a success only if the current "lurch" towards the executive authorities is eliminated.

However, the fact that the current constitutional processes are moving towards accord inspires optimism, said Zorkin.

Rutskoy First To Vote in Lefortovo Prison

LD1212093993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] Voting on the draft constitution and the elections to the Federal Assembly started this morning in Lefortovo, remand center of the Russian Security Ministry. It has become known to INTERFAX that as of

0930, former Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy was the first to cast his vote. The others—Viktor Anpilov and Ilya Konstantinov—will be able to use their right during the day. Ruslan Khasbulatov, unless he changes his mind, will not vote. His lawyer has told INTERFAX that the former speaker regards his arrest as unlawful and therefore he is not going to use his civic right.

Khasbulatov To Boycott Elections

LD1112154793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] The ex Russian Parliament's Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov will boycott elections on December 12. He believes that the constitution "does not meet the interests of Russia". His lawyer Vladimir Fomichev has told Interfax that another reason for his decision not to vote is "his illegal arrest", which he interprets as a violation of civil rights.

Earlier, the Russian Prosecutor General's Office turned down his request to release him from confinement at the Lefortovo prison. Khasbulatov is charged with stirring mass unrest during the events in Moscow in October.

In Fomichev's words, his client is feeling well.

Ingush President, Vice President Comment After Voting

LD1212185593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1648 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] The President of Ingushetia Ruslan Aushev voted at 11 am at the polling station No 13 in Nazrani. The polls and voting on the Constitution go smoothly in Ingushetia. "The voters' turnout is a testimony of the fact that they hope the Charter will be active, especially in the parts concerning the human rights," Mr. Aushev told the journalists. He added that he "voted for Aleksandr Mamadzhanyan as the candidate to the State Duma from Ingushetia", but wouldn't tell what party bloc he voted for. At the same time his Vice-President Boris Agapov told Interfax that he did not vote for any of the party blocs. In his view, there is no credible party in Russia so far. By 11 am 15 percent of the electorate voted at the 75 polling stations of Ingushetia: 17,807 out of 124,054. There was no information, according to an official of the electoral commission, on any incidents at the polls or on boycotting the vote. The majority of the voters surveyed by Interfax were supportive of the Russian Constitution.

Black Sea Fleet Personnel Vote in Elections

LD1212185793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1648 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] More than 11 thousand naval personnel - citizens of Russia who serve in the Black Fleet took part in the Sunday elections to the State Duma. As reported by the press center of the fleet 51 polling stations were set up in the Black Sea Fleet. The candidates to the State Duma

were from the 112th electoral district of Orekhovo-Zuevo. One of the candidates is chief of staff of the government of the Russian Federation Vladimir Kvasov who visited the Black Sea Fleet during his election campaign.

Shevardnadze Issues Order To Help Russian Troops Vote

LD1112154193 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1300 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] The head of the Georgian state issued an order on assisting holding elections on 12 December 1993, within the Russian Federation Army units deployed on the territory of the Republic of Georgia.

The order says that in connection with the elections to be held in the Russian Federation on 12 December 1993, electoral districts have been set up for the servicemen of the Russian Army units deployed on the territory of the Republic of Georgia and their families.

Igor Giorgadze, the minister of security of Georgia, and Interior Minister Shota Kviraia, together with the heads of the Russian Federation Army units deployed on the territory of the Republic of Georgia are to carry out specific measures for holding elections, protecting those participating, and securing order at the electoral districts.

In accordance with the places of deployment, heads of the local bodies of the relevant towns and rayons authorities are to show proper attention for holding elections under normal circumstances.

Voter Turnout Figures Around Country Reported

Roundup of Midday Turnout

LD1212072593

[Editorial Report] The following is a roundup of Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian reports on the 12 December elections received between 0400 - 0700 GMT.

At 0430 GMT TASS reports from Vladivostok that the local electoral commission and local television and radio were getting phone calls from voters complaining that several polling stations were not ready, and reporting "blatant," unspecified, violations of the Statute on Elections. The agency noted that only between 10 to 20 percent of the electorate in Vladivostok had turned out during the first four hours of voting, although voting was brisker in other towns in Maritime Kray. In rural areas voters have been even more active with turn out figures by midday of 60 to 80 percent of the electorate, TASS added.

At 0411 GMT, TASS reports that in Krasnoyarsk Kray, voting has been sluggish according to observers from the Russian Communist Party who put it down to voter apathy. However a local electoral commission official said this was normal and that he expected voting to pick

up by mid-morning. The sluggish voting was confirmed in a further TASS report at 0608 GMT which says that only 42,000 people from an electorate of more than two million had voted during the first hour of voting.

At 0455 GMT, in a Chita-dated report, TASS states that more than 15 percent of the electorate had voted by midday, and that by 1100 local time, lines were already beginning to form outside voting booths. In a further report at 0608 GMT, the agency quotes a local election official as stating that by 1430 local time more than 25 percent of the electorate had voted.

At 0458 GMT TASS reports that in the first 90 minutes of voting in Buryatia, only 12,000 people out of an electorate of 649,000 had turned out to vote, which is half the number who had voted by the same time in the April referendum. An exit poll conducted by an TASS correspondent showed a fifty-fifty split between those who had voted for Yeltsin's constitution and those who had voted against. The most popular parties, according to the poll, were the Democratic Party of Russia, Russia's Choice, and the Communist Party.

In a report at 0500 GMT, TASS says that by 1300 local time in Khabarovsk Kray only 22 percent of the electorate had voted causing the chairman of the constituency electoral commission to appeal on local radio to the inhabitants of the area to "put everything aside, forget their grievances and misfortunes, and go and vote at the polling stations."

At 0608 GMT, TASS reports on the voting situation in the Urals and eastern Siberia, saying that in Chelyabinsk a mere 1.2 per cent of the electorate had turned out during the first 90 minutes of voting. During the first hour of voting in Tuva, one in eight voters turned out, the same report adds.

Only 7.5 Percent Vote in Tatarstan

LD1212134793 Moscow *ITAR-TASS World Service* in Russian 1315 GMT 12 Dec 93

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Nikolay Sorokin]

[Text] Kazan, 12 Dec—Only 7.5 percent of all registered voters had cast their votes by 1600 hours in Tatarstan, a representative of Kazan's Moskovskiy electoral district told *ITAR-TASS*.

'Covert Boycott' Worked

LD1212170293 Moscow *ITAR-TASS World Service* in Russian 1637 GMT 12 Dec 93

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Nikolay Sorokin]

[Text] Kazan, 12 Dec—By 1800 hours 12 percent of the registered electorate had voted in Tatarstan, the *ITAR-TASS* correspondent learned in the Republic's Council of Ministers.

There is every reason to assume that the covert boycott organized by the national parties and movements, with the connivance of the republican authorities, has worked: The elections and referendum will most likely be invalid.

Low Moscow, St. Petersburg Turnout Explained

LD1212193993 Moscow *INTERFAX in English* 1854 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] Bad weather and a televised transmission of the Intercontinental Soccer Cup between Milan of Italy and Sao Paulo of Brazil is the cause of a very low turnout in elections in Moscow and St. Petersburg, political analyst Aleksey Kiva said. However, he does not rule out a dramatic change in the remaining hours.

As an example, he referred to more than a 50 percent turnout in Siberia and the Far East by 19:30 Moscow Time.

The analyst said that under Yeltsin's decree, a 25 percent turnout of the those eligible to vote is good enough to consider the election as held. However, more than a 50 percent turnout is required for the constitutional referendum to be valid. Kiva said the referendum was held nationwide but not by regions and republics.

Further Details on Regional Turnout

LD1212214293 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 2116 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—Over 50 per cent of the electorate voted in the Russian parliamentary elections and the referendum on the draft constitution in Yenisey Constituency Number 24. In the Taymyr Autonomous Region 56.9 per cent of the electorate cast their votes.

The Samara region has passed the 50 per cent threshold. Latest reports from the cities of Togliatti and Syzran show that almost 55 per cent of people eligible to vote attended polls. About 52 per cent of the electorate votes in the region on the whole.

In Tallinn, over 11,000 Russians living in Estonia took part in the voting. Preliminary results will be known tomorrow.

According to reports from Chisinau, by 15:00 Moscow time about one third of Russian citizens had cast their votes. A blitz poll showed that the majority of them supported the draft constitution.

In the Altay region over 50 per cent of voters have cast their ballots. Among the parties and blocs which are fighting for seats in the State Duma, the lower house of Russia's new parliament, the Agrarian Party of Russia, the Liberal Democratic Party, the Russian Communist Party and the Russia's Choice election bloc are in the lead.

According to preliminary estimates, 63.2 per cent of the electorate voted in the Tver Region.

Head of the Regional Electoral Commission in the Chelyabinsk Region, Svetlana Tolstobrova, said that about 49.9 per cent of voters took part in the elections and the referendum. She pointed out to the political passivity of people in southern Urals which has the largest number of candidates (11) competing for only one seat in the State Duma.

A total of 53 per cent of the electorate voted in Moscow by 22:00 Sunday and 56.2 per cent in St. Petersburg.

Reports from the Perm Region show that 44.6 per cent of voters took part in the elections. The voting was carried out in a well organised manner, no violations were registered. Most active were pensioners, while young people remained largely passive throughout the day, Regional Commission Chairman Anatoliy Lebedev said.

A total of 65.3 per cent of voters attended polls in the Komi Permyatsk Autonomous Region. No excesses, unsanctioned rallies or other violations were reported.

By the time polls closed at 22:00 in the Tula Region, about 53.8 per cent of the electorate had taken part in the elections. The majority of them voted for the draft constitution.

Information Center: Turnout Over 52 Percent

LD1212230193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2256 GMT 12 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—Over 52 per cent of Russians came to the polls on Sunday, according to reports of the Information Centre at the presidential administration as for 01.00 Moscow time Monday.

This means that the referendum on the constitution and elections to the new parliament had taken place.

Ryabov Tells Yeltsin Turnout 55 Percent

LD1312022793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0200 GMT 13 Dec 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] INTERFAX news agency has just released a report saying that Nikolay Ryabov, head of the Central Electoral Commission, telephoned the Russian president several hours ago and gave him preliminary data on the number of those who took part in the voting. Approximately 55 percent of electors turned up at the polling stations in Russia as a whole.

Ryabov also told journalists from INTERFAX and the Ekho Moskvy radio station that Boris Yeltsin expressed his gratitude to all those who organized the actual voting and those who are now counting up the results.

ITAR-TASS Details Turnout

LD1312102293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0205 GMT 13 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vitaliy Gordiyenko]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Dec—The information center of the Russian president's administration has circulated a report on the progress in the voting in the regions (subjects of the Federation) by 2200 local time on 12 December (in percentages):

Adygeya - 57.74	Bashkortostan - 61.18
Buryatia - 54.21	Gornyy Altay - 65.59
Dagestan - 51.63 (data by 1800)	Ingushetia - 42.69
Kabardino-Balkaria - 58.21	Kalmykia - 57.03
Karachayevo-Cherkessiya - 70.39	Karelia - 54.45
Komi - 46.70	Mari El - 55.47
Mordovia - 60.42	Sakha (Yakutia) - 65.00
North Ossetia - 56.80	Tatarstan - 13.83
Tuva - 58.29	Udmurtia - 44.18
Khakassia - 45.20	Chechnya - 0.00
Chuvashia - 61.95	Altay Kray - 53.96
Krasnodar Kray - 54.92	Krasnoyarsk Kray - 50.08
Maritime Kray - 50.04	Stavropol Kray - 62.97
Khabarovsk Kray - 45.49	Amur Oblast - 53.30 (data by 1800 hours)
Arkhangel Oblast - 54.78	Astrakhan Oblast - 50.80
Belgorod Oblast - 65.40	Bryansk Oblast - 63.85
Vladimir Oblast - 58.67	Volgograd Oblast - 54.74
Vologda Oblast - 58.25	Voronezh Oblast - 58.37
Ivanovo Oblast - 55.87	Irkutsk Oblast - 45.60
Kaliningrad Oblast - 54.92	Kaluga Oblast - 60.75
Kamchatka Oblast - 50.00	Kemerovo Oblast - 49.90
Kirov Oblast - 56.34	Kostroma Oblast - 58.49
Kurgan Oblast - 60.46	Kursk Oblast - 63.00
Leningrad Oblast - 56.03	Lipetsk Oblast - 59.57
Magadan Oblast - 39.08 (data by 1800)	Moscow Oblast - 52.67
Murmansk Oblast - 51.26	Nizhniy Novgorod Oblast - 52.86
Novgorod Oblast - 57.11	Novosibirsk Oblast - 50.44
Omsk Oblast - 52.95 (data by 1800)	Orenburg Oblast - 53.85
Orel Oblast - 63.33	
Penza Oblast - 62.38	Perm Oblast - 44.48
Pskov Oblast - 65.87	Rostov Oblast - 56.23
Ryazan Oblast - 63.39	Samara Oblast - 46.32
Saratov Oblast - 57.19	Sakhalin Oblast - 50.31
Sverdlovsk Oblast - 48.68	Smolensk Oblast - 65.09
Tambov Oblast - 63.86	Tver Oblast - 62.45

Tomsk Oblast - 44.20 (data by 1800)	Tula Oblast - 56.06 (data by 1800)
Tyumen Oblast - 44.39 (data by 1800)	Ulyanovsk Oblast - 59.45
Chelyabinsk Oblast - 49.63	Chita Oblast - 49.74
Yaroslavl Oblast - 54.36	Moscow City - 53.00
City of St. Petersburg - 51.64	Jewish Autonomous Oblast - 45.13
Aga-Buryat autonomous district - 63.29	
Komi-Permyak autonomous district - 53.43	
Koryak autonomous district - 56.58	
Nenets autonomous district - 49.42	
Taymyr autonomous district - 77.21 (data by 1800 hours)	
Ust-Orda Buryat autonomous district - 69.23	
Khanti-Mansiysk autonomous district - 36.70	
Chukotka autonomous district - 55.99	
Evenki autonomous district - 56.41	
Yamal-Nenets - 46.74	

International Observers Gather for Elections

LD1012151093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1145 GMT 10 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow December 10 TASS—As of Friday, two days before the December 12 elections and referendum, 1030 international observers have been registered in Russia in connection with the December 12 elections and constitutional referendum, ITAR-TASS was told by the Central Electoral Commission.

International observers are converging on Russia from many different countries, from parliaments and governments, and from international social and human rights organisations. In particular, the North Atlantic Assembly, the CSCE's Parliamentary Assembly, the European Parliament, the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly, the International Fund of Electoral Systems, and the international peacekeeping society "Unity" have all sent observers to Russia for this week-end's elections.

The Central Electoral Commission regularly provides the observers with official documents, and conducts consultations with them. The CSCE and European Union countries have agreed to divide Russia into "observation zones".

Groups of observers will be present in many cities of the Russian Federation, including ones quite far from Moscow, such as Irkutsk, Khabarovsk, Ulan-Ude and Vladivostok. The Central Electoral Commission has sent local heads of administration and chairmen of electoral commissions letters asking them to assist and cooperate with the international observers.

The Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs has also undertaken measures to assist the observers, including forming a reserve translating center on the basis of the Moscow Institute of International Relations and the Diplomatic Academy. It suggested that the Moscow City Government maintain plenty of transport in reserve to provide to the international observers in case of emergency.

Official Confident of Observers' Access

PM1012114393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 10 Dec 93 p 3

[Pavel Vasilyev article: "Most 'Observable' Elections. The Parliamentary Election Campaign and the Referendum on the Draft of the Russian Federation Constitution Have Already Merited This Assessment"]

[Excerpts] More than 700 observers from 45 countries and eight international organizations have arrived in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and leading regions of Russia. Their numbers will increase to 1,000 by election day, and the number of countries which have sent their experts will increase to 100. This group includes leading specialists from the United Nations, the CSCE, the Council of Europe, and the European Parliament, deputies and well-known legal experts from the United States, France, the FRG, Japan.... [passage omitted]

Is there confusion in the polling places? Will the people express their will freely? Do all the parties, however complex and strange they may seem, have equal opportunities to present their programs?

The guests from abroad are faced with giving an exhaustive answer to these and a dozen other questions. For this they themselves must be free to choose the places and methods of observation and analysis. Is this realistic?

"Perfectly," Taymuraz Ramishvili, chief of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry Administration for Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights, is sure. "International groups of specialists have been set up for this purpose and have already been sent to 15 major Russian regions. In addition to Moscow and St. Petersburg, they will visit Tatarstan and other republics in the Volga region, the Urals, the Kuzbass, and Siberian krais and oblasts. Most of the Japanese delegation is already working in the Far East. Many guests are studying the situation in Moscow at present and will then also travel to the provinces."

My interlocutor remarked that the Central Electoral Commission's decision to exclude the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and the Democratic Party of

Russia from the list of electoral blocs for criticizing the draft Constitution—on which Vladimir Shumeyko insisted—could have been the first “black ball” against our democracy. Thank God, the exclusion did not happen: The arbitration court proved up to the mark by rejecting unsubstantiated demands. This business added to our democracy's brownie points.

The diplomat also drew attention to other absurdities. In particular, skeptical commentaries have appeared in certain publications claiming that foreigners will hardly be able to get to the bottom of the Russian muddle in two or three days, particularly without knowledge of the Russian language. “This shows a misconception about the experts’ qualifications,” Taymuraz Otarovich said. “International observers are very experienced people. They themselves have repeatedly conducted election campaigns and participated in them. Work will be conducted through interpreters, but there are also many specialists who are fluent in Russian. In addition, we have our diplomatic agents in all regions, who can give the guests the necessary assistance.” [passage omitted]

European Parliament Official Discusses Observers’ Role

PM1312112793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 3

[Interview with Magdalena Hoff, coordinator of European Parliament election observers’ team, by Vladimir Peresada: “Continuous Observation....”]

[Text] Brussels, 10 Dec—Representatives of as authoritative an institution as the European Parliament are among the foreign observers at the parliamentary elections and referendum on the Constitution in Russia. Two groups of members of the European Parliament have been working in Moscow and a number of other Russian cities since the beginning of December, that is, while the election campaign has been in full swing. A large number of other groups will also be directly observing the elections and the referendum. They will be operating in Krasnodar, Kazan, Novosibirsk, and St. Petersburg as well as the capital.

On the eve of the elections your PRAVDA correspondent in Brussels put a number of questions to Mrs. Magdalena Hoff, chairman of the European Parliament delegation (commission) for relations with the CIS countries, who is coordinating the mission.

[Peresada] How are the observers’ activities organized and in accordance with what principles?

[Hoff] One very important principle is continuous observation, starting with the election campaign. Indeed, it is clear that the success or failure of the elections depends on what conditions are created during this campaign. Most of the observers are members of the European Parliament delegation for relations with the CIS countries, which has 26 members. Our partner in Russia is the

Central Electoral Commission. Meetings with representatives of the party blocs participating in the elections are one of the main forms of work in the course of the election campaign. We have also been meeting with representatives of the parties that failed to qualify for the elections.

It must be borne in mind as well that a group of European observers from a number of EC countries has been working in Moscow for a long time now. They have been watching television programs, listening to the radio, and reading newspapers on a daily basis. Their job is to monitor election campaign coverage in the Russian press and make sure the rule of equal access to the media for the different political blocs is observed.

[Peresada] What will you be doing on the actual day, on 12 December?

[Hoff] On that day the members of the European Parliament will be at various polling places, watching the progress of the elections. Obviously they are also entitled to be present during the count.

[Peresada] Can representatives of parties make complaints to observers about violations of the law during the election campaign or during the elections themselves, supposing they occur?

[Hoff] We are ready to meet with anyone. Incidentally, the places observers are being sent to were chosen on the basis of proposals put to us. The results of the April referendum, in which there were massive differences between regions voting for or against Mr. Yeltsin, were the main factor in this choice.

[Peresada] But say the observers receive a complaint about a violation during the elections. Will they react to it by, say, notifying the Central Electoral Commission or merely by making a note of it?

[Hoff] It depends on the specific instance. It appears there are going to be serious incidents, active intervention will be required. But anyway, in view of the development of the situation in your country in recent months, I am not sure an incident of that kind could go “unnoticed.”

Foreign Observers Visit Facilities, Hold Meetings

Talk With Ryabov

LD1112133993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1237 GMT 11 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow December 11 TASS—Russia is ready for elections and for popular vote on the draft constitution, Nikolay Ryabov said today at a meeting with international observers from Germany, who represent the three biggest parties of that country: the Free Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union. The chairman of the Central Electoral

Commission stressed that all had been done for the elections and the referendum to be held in conditions of freedom, democracy and impartiality.

Ryabov pointed to the great interest in the elections in Russia, as well as the nationwide referendum on the draft of the fundamental law, expressed by the world community. About 1,000 foreign observers came to Russia. "Russia is open for them," Ryabov said.

Responding to the questions of the guests, he explained the characteristic features of the current electoral campaign and stressed that the regulations on elections to the Federation Council and the State Duma rule out a possibility of forging during the vote-counting. In the opinion of Ryabov, the forthcoming democratic elections in Russia will objectively reveal the degree of activity of electors. "Now, in conditions of democracy, even if 60 per cent of Russian citizens, entered on the lists, go to the polls, it may be considered as high activity," he said.

Visit Mass Media Arbitration Court

LD1112154593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1441
GMT 11 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow December 11 TASS—Foreign observers visited Russia's Court of Arbitration set up to settle disputes between candidates and the mass media during the election campaign in Russia.

Court Secretary Vladimir Sukhomlinov said that the court has been established by a presidential decree to serve the interests of justice and adopt decisions based on the Russian legislation and journalistic ethics.

He stressed that the court's decisions concerning the draft Russian Constitution and some others prove this.

Sukhomlinov and other court members noted that some cases of violation of the law during the election campaign will be analysed, summed up and handed over to the Russian Public Prosecutor's Office.

The court will continue working after the elections to be held on Sunday to consider a number of appeals. The majority of them have been sent from Russian regions. Additionally, a special report will be prepared at the request of President Boris Yeltsin to generalise the experience of the court's work.

Meeting With Security Council's Lobov

LD1112163293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1428
GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 11 TASS—Russian Security Council Secretary Oleg Lobov met on Saturday [11 December] with a group of North Atlantic Assembly officials who have arrived in Moscow as observers for Russian parliamentary elections.

The talks focused on issues connected with the development of the social and political situation in Russia on the eve of the elections to the Federal Assembly and the nation-wide referendum on the draft Russian constitution, the role of the Security Council as a constitutional body for the consolidation of Russian society and efforts to reach national accord and ensure stability and security in the country, the Security Council press service said.

The press service also said that the sides "touched upon the problems of European and global security and preservation of global peace."

Visit to ITAR-TASS

LD1212170893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1618
GMT 12 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Nikolay Kalintsev]

[Text] Moscow December 12 TASS—Europarlament and Social International observers to Russian elections visited the ITAR-TASS news agency on Sunday [12 December].

ITAR-TASS Director-General Vitaliy Ignatenko informed the foreign guests about the TASS coverage of the elections to the Federal Assembly and the referendum on the draft constitution. If the constitution is not adopted, Russia will be left to live in dangerous instability, he stressed.

"I am sure that the results of voting on the constitution will be positive and the country will receive a long-awaited political boost. There is no doubt that the future parliament will include opposition forces, but the country will only gain from the healthy and democratic opposition," Ignatenko said.

Magdalene Hoff, head of the Europarlament delegation, stressed the importance of the mass media for nascent Russian democracy. Television, newspapers and news agencies in Russia, including ITAR-TASS, have made an important contribution to the preparation of elections which are vitally important for the future of the country, she said.

Social International delegation head Herta Daeubler-Gmelin pointed out that foreign observers have not reported any violations of the voting procedure. She expressed the hope that citizens of Russia will make the right choice which will pave the way for Russia's democratic development in the future.

Observers Comment on Voting Procedures, 'Shortcomings'

Question Voting in Open, Not Booths

LD1212113793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 12 Dec 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] With the beginning of voting in Russia, foreign observers are coming up with their first questions. The observers believe, for instance, that completing papers in the open, rather than in electoral booths—and that is what senior citizens are mostly doing—is a breach of voting secrecy. On this remark, the chairman of a commission in Moscow said that some citizens are keen to demonstrate that they have nothing to hide, ITAR-TASS reports. In his opinion, Russian mentality also has to be taken into account.

CSCE Observer: No Violations in Moscow

LD1212192993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] Foreign observers have not registered any violations of democratic principles during voting at Moscow's polling stations. One can already say that Russia has a good chance of acquiring a legal and democratically-elected parliament. Jack Zetkulik, one of the leaders of the group of observers from the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly, said this in an interview to an ITAR-TASS correspondent. However, he noted certain shortcomings in the organization of the ballot.

He said, for example, that it was striking that voters were experiencing difficulties in finding their way around the long lists of parties, blocs, and individual candidates. Furthermore, at polling stations there were frequent cases of people filling in the ballot papers en famille, or sitting side by side which was totally alien to the tradition of voting in the West.

UK MP Says No Irregularities

LD1212180393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1545 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Studio interview with British MP Kenneth Baker by unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent—live; italicized passages in English]

[Text] [Correspondent] Good evening. Our guest today is British MP Kenneth Baker. My question to Mr. Baker is: What impression did he get from the election campaign and from today's voting in Russia. *Mr. Baker, what can you say about the first democratic vote in Russia?*

[Baker] *I visited many polling stations today, and we have British observers in Vladivostok, in Ulan-Ude, Kaliningrad, Yaroslavl, and elsewhere, and we have not so far found any irregularities in the voting.*

This is a historic day for Russia, because you are moving from a one-party democracy to a multiparty democracy in five years. It took my country 500 years. Democracy is established in Russia, I do not think you can turn the clock back now. There is very free and open discussion here. I hope now, and the whole world hopes, that Russia will have a stable government. Stability is very important.

[Correspondent] *Thank you very much.*

Mr. Baker said they had visited several polling stations, not only in Moscow, but also in Vladivostok, in Ulan-Ude, in Kaliningrad, Yaroslavl, and a number of other towns. We are satisfied, Mr. Baker says, with the way the elections in Russia have gone. Today we are watching the process of democracy coming into being. It is a long and difficult road. It took us, my country, 500 years to do this; it took Russia only five years. But I am certain that democracy will win through. The clock will be turned back [as heard]. The most important thing for Russia today is stability.

EC Observers Report No Contraventions

LD1312101893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0155 GMT 13 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Shtorkh]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Dec— Ole Esperson from Denmark and Fritz Probst, an Austrian member of parliament, who are acting as observers from the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent that "On the day of the referendum on the draft Russian constitution and the Federal Assembly elections we visited at least eight polling stations, and can state quite unequivocally that there were no serious contraventions of voting procedures or evidence of undue pressure on the voters." They attended the opening of ballot boxes at polling station No. 220 in the capital's Central constituency.

O. Espersen, who represents Denmark's Social Democratic Party in the Folketing (parliament), noted the fairly high turn-out and the great professionalism of members of electoral commissions at those polling stations which he and his Austrian colleague managed to visit.

European Observers Hold News Conference

LD1312170093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1518 GMT 13 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Dec—A delegation of observers from the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe has given a positive assessment to the way the elections were conducted. This was said at a news conference today by Daniel Tarschys, head of the Council of Europe delegation.

He said that the observers visited polling stations in Moscow, Tatarstan, and Rostov oblast, and did not find any irregularities. However, on the eve of the elections members of the delegation heard some complaints from the opposition about impeded access to mass media.

According to Victor Ruffy, a delegation member from Switzerland, even his country, with all its long-standing democratic traditions, "could envy the way some technical aspects of the electoral procedure were organized in

Russia." However, in the words of the observers, final conclusions will only be drawn after all the votes are counted.

The observers expressed hope that these elections will help Russia become a member of the Council of Europe. Answering questions from journalists, the visitors said they are not overly concerned about political aspects of the elections. The aim of their visit is to establish how democratic the elections were.

Referendum on Constitution

Public Mood Surveyed Prior to Referendum

LD0912193593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1511
GMT 9 Dec 93

["Viewpoint" report No. 47 of 9 December; materials prepared by the Public Opinion Foundation, Viewpoint's sociological service, and the INTERFAX news agency]

[Text] ON THE EVE OF REFERENDUM: "I HAVE NOT READ THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION, BUT..."

In Russia's modern history, there is an obvious abundance of constitutions. Over 75 years, the country has had four constitutions, if not five taking the 1977 Constitution drastically amended by the Supreme Soviet as a separate document. Today Russia faces adoption or rejection of still another constitution, and what is new, by popular vote. Some political scientists consider this mechanism as disputable enough, but it is capable of providing a peaceful way out of a constitutional deadlock. However, holding such a referendum proves sensible only if the people know the subject they will vote on.

A total of 1202 respondents took part in the opinion poll carried out on November 13.

RUSSIA'S DRAFT CONSTITUTION WAS PUBLISHED BY NEWSPAPERS ON NOVEMBER 10. HAVE YOU READ IT?

Only a quarter of those asked had time to read the draft constitution during the three days after it was published. The rest gave a negative answer to the question. Experts believe that such result cannot even be considered satisfactory as it is even less probable that those who failed or did not want to read the draft constitution on November 10 will have time and desire to do it later. This might come true only if extraordinary efforts are applied to popularize the document.

The extent of knowledge of the draft constitution submitted to the referendum differs depending on social and age groups. It is relatively higher among men, elders, higher school graduates and wealthy people. The highest interest in the document was shown by directors of state enterprises (50%), businessmen (42%), servicemen and policemen (38%) and professionals with a higher school

diploma (38%). These are people whose professional activities are the most determined by the constitutional climate in the country. The minimum share of those who read the draft constitution is among the jobless (12%) and housewives (16%).

ARE EARLY PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS NECESSARY?

This poll was carried out simultaneously with the previous one among the same group of respondents.

THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION ENVISIONS THAT THE CURRENT PRESIDENT WILL RETAIN HIS OFFICE UNTIL 1996. DO YOU APPROVE OF THAT?

A total of 33% of respondents gave a positive answer to the question, while 38% did not approve of that and 29% found it difficult to provide any answer.

Despite the inarguable importance of this provision of the draft constitution and its what some experts call doubtful political foundedness, the answers characterize the extent of the people's support of Boris Yeltsin and his political course rather than their attitude to the draft constitution itself. From this point of view, the division in three roughly equal groups reflects well enough the assessments of Yeltsin's policies existing in society. That is why it would be interesting to find out which groups of people support these policies, which hesitate and which are their convinced opponents.

The extent of agreement with Yeltsin's retention of his office until 1996 (in general 33%) increases with the growth of incomes, from 13% among people with low incomes (up to 5,000 rubles per head) to 43% among wealthier people (over 50,000 rubles per head). Presidential opponents accounting for 38% of respondents are the most numerous among those with low incomes (73%) and the least among wealthy ones (33%). Those with medium incomes - mostly urban professionals - are split approximately half by half over the issue.

The youth and higher school graduates tend to approve of the prolongation of Yeltsin's presidency against other age and education groups. Elder people and poorly educated ones do not approve of the step. Yeltsin's supporters prevail in such elite professional groups as directors of state enterprises and businessmen (58%) and higher school graduates (44%). Opponents have firm positions among the jobless (56%), servicemen and policemen (45%), workers (43%) and pensioners (43%).

As for the 29% of those hesitating whose choice may be the last drop to bring the victory to one or the other, their share is approximately equal in nearly every wealth, age and professional group. The only exception is those with low incomes (with only 13% who declined to provide an answer) and servicemen and policemen (17%) which is evidence of their observable polarization after the October developments in Moscow.

DO THEY ALWAYS TELL THE TRUTH ON TV?

A total of 1171 respondents took part in this opinion poll carried out on November 6.

WHAT PRIVILEGES HAVE PRESIDENTIAL SUPPORTERS IN ELECTION CAMPAIGN ON TV IN COMPARISON WITH OTHER POLITICAL FORCES?

A total of 23% of those asked said all political forces had equal opportunities to promulgate their views through television, while exactly a half of respondents said supporters of the president enjoyed privileges. A total of 4% of respondents believes it is all on the contrary, and another 23% found it difficult to give an answer.

Applied to the election campaign, the principle of competition requires that competing parties have equal opportunities to carry out propaganda of their views through the state-owned mass media. Russia is facing the problem for the first time in its history while preparing for the December 12 elections to the multi-party State Duma. The lack of corresponding legislation was compensated to some extent by the presidential decree to ensure equal access to the air for all political parties and blocs which managed to enter the final. However, a considerable part of the population is rather sceptical about the proper implementation of the decree.

A half of those asked believes that presidential supporters have more opportunities to televise election propaganda. According to the previous poll on the subject, a total of 57% respondents shared this point of view. Only 23% of people believe in the equality of possibilities for everyone against 19% in October.

Though the share of those who trust the unbiasedness of the leadership of the television broadcasting company grew up over a fortnight, society on the whole tends to think that Yeltsin's present virtual autocracy grants certain privileges to pro-presidential forces in the propaganda of their ideas. Many come to this conclusion basing on their own impressions from what is shown on TV actively fanned by some mass media.

The differentiation of opinions on the subject is indicated rather vaguely depending on social and demographic parameters. Though, it is possible to see that the share of those who believe privileges for presidential supporters exist slightly increases together with the education and wealth levels. Sociologists do not rule out that many of those asked consider this situation quite natural establishing the privileged position of pro-presidential forces, Russia's Choice in the first place, on the TV screen, as this political group is obviously the richest of influential and popular personalities who are of the highest interest for viewers.

TOO MANY OR TOO FEW?

OF 35 POLITICAL PARTIES AND BLOCS ONLY 13 WERE ALLOWED TO STAND FOR PARLIAMENT. WHICH OF THE BELOW JUDGEMENTS DO YOU AGREE WITH?

It's bad because there's nobody to vote for	6 (percent)
It's bad because I'll have to vote for candidates I wouldn't vote for otherwise	6
It's good because it's easier to make a choice	17
It's good because "my" party will have fewer rivals	15
I don't care	30
I'm not sure	25

With a just a few days remaining before the election to Russia's new parliament, the future voters are obviously tired of changes in the election campaign regulations.

The above figures show that most Russians either do not care about the reduction in the number of organizations standing for parliament or are not sure whether this is good or bad. It is clear that more than half of Russians see the formation of a multiparty system in Russia as something rather abstract and having little to do with their everyday concerns.

This attitude is particularly common among those with a monthly income of under 7000 rubles (67%-68%), women (60%), persons with a secondary or incomplete secondary education (56% and 58% respectively), elderly people (59%) and those between the ages of 16 and 24 (57%). Thirty-eight percent in the latter category are indifferent, whereas among people over the age of 54 half who do not care and half are not sure.

As far as occupational groups go, those indifferent or hesitant account for 61% of blue-collar workers, 60% of unemployed, 58% of pensioners and 56% of students (those who do not care account for 41% of the latter category).

Most of those whose sympathies were with parties and blocs barred from the election are either people with a monthly income of between 5000 and 10,000 rubles (14%-20%), housewives (8%), blue-collar workers, students or pensioners (7% in each category). Such people account for the smallest proportion of armed forces personnel, officers in law enforcement services, managers of state-owned industrial enterprises and unemployed.

Those who will have to vote for "worse" candidates account for between 12% and 13% of people with a monthly income of between 7000 and 15,000 rubles, 12% of housewives and a quarter (!) of state enterprise managers.

The forthcoming election poses many problems. In pragmatic terms, the fewer problems there are the better. This is what apparently explains the fact that 23% of people with a higher education and only 12% of those with an incomplete secondary education said, "It's good because now it's easier to make a choice." The same attitude is taken by 25% of white-collar workers, 24% of employees with a higher education, and 22% of business people, but by only 12% of housewives and 11% of blue-collar workers.

Finally, most of those supporting one of the remaining 13 parties and blocs are men (19%), middle-aged people (18%), business people (33%), armed forces personnel and law enforcement officers (31%) and state enterprise managers (21%). Their proportion is the lowest among students (8%). This shows that Russian business wishes to be well represented in the future parliament and has a good chance of attaining that aim.

Society's low political activity is a usual phenomenon in Western democracies as well and poses no threat in itself. But in Russia today, the aftermath may be that a large proportion of the population will have no representation in the legislature, which, in turn, might lead to political destabilization. The electorate's political indifference has already reached a critical point and might cause problems that will be difficult to solve.

Chernomyrdin Appeals for Adoption of Constitution

LD1012205093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1830 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 10 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, spoke on the radio today. The following is the text of the speech circulated by the government's press service:

Dear peoples of Russia!

On the eve of the referendum and elections to the Federal Assembly I would like to say a word to you. I regard this expression of free will by the people as a very important event in Russian history. On 12 December we, the peoples of Russia—and nobody else—are to decide our own destiny and the destiny of our motherland.

This is a crucial, moreover, an extremely crucial moment in our life demanding a great deal of all of us! It will depend on our civic responsibility and our choice how Russia will be today and tomorrow.

I call on everyone who has the right to vote to go to their polling stations on Sunday and cast their votes. Then the people will make their choice.

I call on you to give your votes for the new constitution. Then Russia will become a qualitatively different country not only de facto but also de jure. All of us need this.

By adopting the new fundamental law, we will draw the final line on the past. We will say goodbye to an order under which the state and its interests were dominating. Under the new structure which we are creating the lives of Russian citizens and their rights and freedoms will become the highest priority.

Political and economic emancipation of the individual—this is our ideal. This is the path toward the rapid growth of a political culture and the formation of a stable civilian society. It, in its turn, will become the bulwark of a democratic and law-governed state in Russia.

We have not yet lived with the unconditional supremacy of the law. We should begin to live in the same way which the whole civilized world lives. We need a new constitution for this.

It was not born overnight. Let me remind you: Work on the text of it was carried out over three years. Those who worked on the draft have come and gone, as have concepts and the approaches to resolving the problems which have arisen. Hundreds of people of different views, professions and social status have taken part in drawing up the draft of the new Basic Law of the country. It has been possible in tough and long disputes to find the necessary balance of interests of the individual, sociopolitical groups, society, and the state.

We now have a draft of the new constitution which takes into account the specific features and traditions of Russia. We have a Basic Law which will take Russia in a worthy manner into the circle of front-rank democratic states of the world.

The new constitution is not an end in itself or a panacea for all troubles. It is just a condition for bringing all our affairs into order in our state. It is the beginning of systematic work and cooperation between the individual, society, and the state.

The president is firmly and consistently in favor of a new constitution. As head of the government, I wholly and fully support him. This is also the common position of the Government of Russia.

We are for an order which clearly defines the competence and powers of the president, the government, the Federal Assembly, and the court. We are for an order which guarantees the necessary balance of rights and duties of all bodies of representative, executive, and judicial power both in the center and in the regions. We are for an order which furthers concord and harmonization of the interests of citizens, sociopolitical forces, and state structures. We for order which promotes the development of society's productive forces and the growth of the people's welfare.

All of us—the president as well as members of government—feel stronger thanks to our confidence that the new constitution corresponds to the vital interests of the majority of Russian residents. It will consolidate [zakrepi] the democratic achievements of the people. It

will make steadier the process of reform which the Russians have supported more than once over recent years.

We know that our life cannot be improved without implementing some indispensable reforms. We want to do this quickly. It should be understood: This can only be achieved if the new constitution is adopted.

The logic of our life and our common sense tell us which solution is the right one. On 12 December Russia must acquire a new Basic Law. Russia must be given a new parliament with a new quality. The majority in it must belong to the deputies who subscribe to the ideas of the new constitution.

People of Russia! We will do that for our own sake. We will do that for the sake of those who are yet to live on Russian soil!

Military Leadership Says Constitution 'Necessary'

PM1012151593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Russia's Armed Forces Leadership in Favor of Adopting the Russian Federation Constitution"]

[Text] During the 7-8 December conference of Armed Forces leading personnel, members of the Defense Ministry Collegium and commanders of military district troops, groups of forces, and fleets expressed the view that in order to ensure the further development of democratic processes in the country, the successful implementation of reforms, and the solution of military organizational development tasks, it is necessary to adopt the Russian Federation constitution at the upcoming 12 December referendum.

Party Representatives Debate Constitution

LD1012233993

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1645 GMT on 10 December carries its second and final one-hour phone-in "Live Dialogue" program on the draft constitution.

Moderator Andrey Skryabin introduces the participants as Mikhail Lapshin, representing the Agrarian Party of Russia; Yegor Gaydar, representing the Russia's Choice bloc; Arkadiy Volskiy, representing the Civic Union for Stability, Justice, and Progress; Gennadiy Zyuganov of the Russian Federation Communist Party; Aleksandr Shokhin of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord; and Grigoriy Yavlinskiy of the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc.

Skryabin asks the participants to comment briefly on the merits of the draft constitution. Lapshin likens it to a strong hull of an unfinished boat which still needs much work before it is ready to sail. Gaydar lists as its strong points the sections on human rights, the clear division of

power between bodies of authority in the Federation and the regions, and its progress toward achieving equal status for Federation subjects. Volskiy says a constitution is very necessary, but it should provide a simpler mechanism for the Federal Assembly to introduce amendments. Zyuganov asks why the draft is being submitted without being discussed, and says that people feel they are being mistrusted and denied many former rights. Furthermore, it makes the president the sole guarantor of the constitution, he adds. Shokhin says the new draft legitimizes the legislative branch of authority. He points out that a mechanism for introducing amendments does exist, although it is tough. So the draft should be adopted on 12 December, he concludes. Yavlinskiy says that there had been no democratic process for discussing the draft, and that televised discussion by experts is insufficient.

Skryabin asks the participants to comment on the negative points of the constitution, and the questions it raises. Lapshin says the main issue is the question of land. The land should belong to all citizens of Russia, he says, whereas the draft constitution only shares out land through buying and selling. The peasants will rapidly lose their right to work on the land, he says.

Gaydar says the draft is largely a product of the complex way in which events had developed in Russia over the past two years, and consequently it did have inadequacies. He says: "In my view, it is being made too inflexible. Yes, we have seen what happens to an omnipotent parliament which is prepared to examine any issue it pleases. And of course that is why the powers of the legislative authority have been narrowed more than would be justified if one proceeded from the principle of a rational division of authority. But I cannot name many other points in the constitution which do not satisfy me completely. And nevertheless all this is outweighed by one circumstance alone, and this is why I am going to support the constitution and vote for it. To refuse to support it today would lead to fatal instability, uncertainty and disorder in Russia. And for me that outweighs the real inadequacies of the Russian constitution which both I and my colleagues can well see."

Volskiy points out that few Russians have actually read the draft, and that the constitution has not been properly discussed. He condemns efforts to ban candidates from criticizing the constitution during the election campaign. Discussion of the constitution should have been organized by the manager of the referendum, he says.

Zyuganov says that the constitution is undemocratic and denies people basic rights. He adds that people are adopting it in stressful circumstances after the recent tragic events.

Shokhin says that his bloc is worried by the way in which the elements of federalism had been weakened in the latest draft constitution, but adds that efforts would be made to iron out the weaknesses in parliament.

Yavlinskiy then raises the question of what would happen if the constitution were not adopted. He predicts that the president would submit another draft to the Federal Assembly, then there would be a period of three or four months in which the constitution could be discussed. After being amended, clarified, and discussed publicly, it could be adopted by the summer, he says, and we would all be more satisfied with it. He continues: "So I do not agree with the point of view that in the event of the constitution not being adopted for some reason...[pauses] I do not believe that anything supernatural or awful would take place—if of course the parties involved display composure and act as the situation demands."

Volskiy and Lapshin agree with Yavlinskiy's view that nothing disastrous would happen if the constitution is not adopted. Zyuganov also agrees, adding that he is more worried by what would happen if the draft is adopted. He says: "That would mean endorsing a course of shock therapy which has brought the country to the verge of collapse; it would mean a situation in which there would be no elections of any kind, and the Federal Assembly would be a decorative body, compelled to implement the absolute power of a constitution giving absolute power to one individual who is unable to deal with it, and to a group of his aides who would govern everybody on the people's behalf."

Shokhin says he did not think civil war would break out if the constitution were not adopted, but the confrontation of authorities would be sure to continue, and this would hinder the democratic process.

Yavlinskiy says he is concerned by the polarization of views between those who are vehemently for the constitution and those who are vehemently against it. He adds that this kind of polarization had its dangers, as shown by the tragic events of 3 and 4 October.

Skryabin asks the participants if they think a referendum is the best way to adopt the constitution. Yavlinskiy answers that there is no other way, but that the referendum method should not be used as a way of rushing things through that are unfinished. Once the constitution is adopted it would be virtually impossible to amend it, he says. He calls on the president not to miss the opportunity to alter the constitution now to enable it to be amended later.

Lapshin agrees that the process is acceptable, but repeats his view that many points still have to be worked out first. Shokhin says that while the referendum method is simple, it depends on politicians being allowed to interpret and assess the document properly so that people would be able to make their choice. He agrees with Volskiy's earlier criticism of the attempts to gag critics of the constitution during the election campaign. Gaydar agrees that the referendum method is far from ideal, but says it is a direct reaction to the fact that the Russian parliament had been unable to perform the same task.

Skryabin asks the participants to comment on the division of powers under the new constitution.

Yavlinskiy says everyone realises that the constitution gives the president colossal rights, and he asks if it is right to run such a risk. Gaydar agrees that the present draft gives the president too much power, but adds that fascism had arisen not in a strong presidential state, but in a state with a weak and divided parliament. Zyuganov observes that the new draft constitution gives the president four times more powers than the U.S. President.

Finally, Skryabin asks the participants to say whether people should vote yes or no at the referendum. The participants answer as follows:

Yavlinskiy: "Our association is not appealing to its voters on this question, but laying out its position. However, at the same time it believes that when such profound doubts exist, which have revealed themselves even here today, usually when everyone has such profound doubts, nothing good comes of it."

Shokhin: "Vote yes, but this means that we will do all we can in parliament to make the constitution better."

Zyuganov: "This constitution must not be voted for. It severs traditions which have existed in Russia for 1,000 years."

Volskiy: "Our decision is this: People who have read it and agree with it should vote yes—I repeat, those who have read it—and those who do not agree with it should vote no."

Gaydar: "Vote yes. In spite of all its imperfections this is a necessary prerequisite for the stabilization of Russia's development."

Lapshin: "I would like to repeat the words of Julius Fucik: People, be vigilant. I personally will be voting against it."

The program ends with Skryabin thanking the participants.

Communists Urge Vote Against New Constitution

LD1012144293 Moscow *ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian* 1317 GMT 10 Dec 93

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Dec—Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communists, reported today at a news conference for Russian and foreign journalists that the leadership of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation has called upon its members to vote against the draft constitution.

Despite the fact that the Communist Party leaders are resolutely against the draft of the new basic law which is brought to the referendum, they do realize that it will be adopted. At the same time, they believe that if a significant percentage of voters vote against the constitution, this will give the deputies a moral right to insist on its revision.

The leaders of the Communists have no doubt that they will get through the election barrier and win enough seats in the new parliament. They are not yet saying anything about their plans for work in the future legislative body.

Paper, Others Comment on Draft Constitution

LD1012142693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1120 GMT 10 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow December 10 TASS—Commenting on President Yeltsin's Wednesday TV address to the citizens of Russia, the newspaper *SEGODNYA* (Today) stresses that he rejected the proposal to adopt the new constitution by a parliamentary vote and not by a plebiscite. "In the meantime, the proponents of such a procedure, claim, among other things, that the new constitution is so tightly protected against serious amendments that it will be difficult to make them after the plebiscite. Moreover, many influential figures, including some adherents of the 'Russia's Choice' bloc, which wants the constitution to be adopted by referendum, do not deny that the draft contains serious imbalances as regards the structure of state power," the newspaper notes.

In its opinion, Yeltsin may be concerned about the fate of the presidency, the powers of which "may be excessively restricted by the new Federal Assembly if the pro-presidential candidates lose the elections". "The current political balance of forces may not only call in question the legitimacy of the presidential power, but the possibility of restoring at least some civic peace, too," the newspaper notes.

"The danger of Russia's break-up into several sovereign states has diminished after the October events," candidate to the State Duma from the Russian Democratic Reforms Movement Air Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov told the newspaper *MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA*. His interview is published in today's issue of the newspaper. The marshal believes that after the adoption of a new constitution at the December 12 referendum "this threat will stop hanging over the young Russian statehood like a Damocles sword."

Shaposhnikov said he backed the new constitution. At the same time he noted that "the document is still far from perfect and reflects only the present transitional period".

The newspaper *PRAVDA* today carries pronouncements by representatives from several constituent republics of Russia on the draft constitution and the extent to which it reflects the interests of their republics. "We have nothing to say about the published draft except our dissatisfaction," Tatarstan's vice-premier and the republic's permanent representative in Moscow Iskander Yusupov said. "Tatarstan," he recalled, "has adopted its own constitution which clearly states that Tatarstan is linked with Russia by contractual relations in keeping

with mutually delegated powers. The draft, however, mentions this contractual status only in passing, while we regard it as the cornerstone of our relations," Yusupov stated.

Permanent representative of the Udmurt Republic (the Volga area) in Moscow Anatoliy Kovin believes "the draft is a bit raw, but Udmurtia may vote for it".

Vice-President of the Mari El Republic (the Volga area) Viktor Galavteyev believes that the draft constitution contains no discriminations against his republic, nor against other subjects of the federation. "All our rights and our attributes have been left untouched. Guarantees are given to our national language, education and the arts," he said.

Tuva's permanent representative in Moscow Valeriy Irgit said that the attitude to the draft constitution was negative in his republic and the population was practically unaware of the document.

The newspaper *ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI* writes, commenting on the election campaign which is now ending here, that "Russia is acquiring institutions of parliamentarism, constitutionality, political freedom and juridical equality, and the state power—solid foundations of legitimacy and lawfulness".

Burbulis Move To Amend Constitution Not Supported

MK1012104093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 10 Dec 93 p 2

[Petr Zhuravlev report under the "Constitution" rubric: "Gennadiy Burbulis Ends Up in Minority. No One Backs Proposal To Change the Referendum Formula"]

[Text] Among the numerous gripes about the new draft constitution of Russia voiced of late by politicians of the most varied trends, the dissatisfaction with the extremely complex, as many believe, procedure for making amendments to the country's fundamental law holds a prominent place. Under Article 136, for example, the introduction of amendments in Constitution Chapters 3 through 8 requires the consent of two-thirds of the body of deputies as well as approval from legislative organs in at least two-thirds of the federation's components.

This question was raised by Gennadiy Burbulis, who spoke yesterday at the final session of the Constitutional Conference of representatives of 13 electoral blocs. "The draft constitution needs to be amended," he stated, stressing that Russia's Choice nevertheless backs the referendum and calls upon its supporters to vote "yes." As an example, Mr. Burbulis cited Article 43 from which, in his words, "through an outrageous misunderstanding, the right to free high-school education has been dropped." Without calling for changing the text before the referendum, the Choice leader proposed "to ask the president to promulgate the new Statute on Taking Stock

of the Voting," which specifies that should the voters pass the draft, the constitution would be considered as passed "on the whole" while the Federal Assembly would thus have the right to correct the most obvious mistakes, bypassing a complex procedure.

Boris Zolotukhin, deputy chairman of the Legislative Proposals Commission, who spoke next, rejoined that if the mistakes are obvious there should be no objections on the part of the federation's components to correcting them. Such an interpretation was also supported by Sergey Krasavchenko, deputy presidential chief of staff, who also remarked that it was impossible to change anything two days before the referendum. From the address by one of the experts of the former Constitutional Commission it should have been clear to all those present that, first, free high school education did not vanish from Article 43, even if its text is perhaps not very good; second, the term "on the whole" is meaningless from the legal point of view, and in the given case it only alters the essence of the question being put to the referendum.

Representatives of the other 12 blocs did not support Gennadiy Burbulis either. "What a situation we are putting the voters in....," Yevgeniy Ambartsumov remarked (Yavlinskiy bloc). Sergey Stankevich (Party of Russian Unity and Accord) stated in his turn that there were indeed serious complaints about the constitution, but making changes in the referendum formula would actually cancel it, which is inadmissible.

Had this episode entailed any consequences at all, it could have been sensational to a certain extent. The story of Mr. Burbulis' idea will, however, have hardly any continuation. The thing apparently is that Russia's Choice leaders are trying to miss no opportunity to get into the spotlight once more in the election campaign and given the absence of unity inside the ruling elite.

Legal Scholar Supports Draft Constitution

PM1012145593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Dec 93 First Edition p 4

[Interview with Doctor of Juridical Sciences Professor Vladimir Tumanov, specialist in the sphere of constitutional law, by Leonid Nikitinskiy; place and date not given: "Without a New Constitution There Will Be No New Parliament"]

[Excerpts] Vladimir Aleksandrovich Tumanov is a doctor of juridical sciences, professor, and specialist in the sphere of constitutional law, including various systems of foreign state structure. He is an active participant in the Constitutional Conference, a member of its working commission, and an expert on the draft of the new Russian Constitution in all the phases of its development and discussion. [passage omitted]

[Nikitinskiy] The proposed form of the future Russian state structure is providing the opposition with a reason to say that this constitution is only a quasi-legal shell for imminent dictatorship.

[Tumanov] World experience knows no examples whereby a constitution is used to establish despotism. Its legal purpose prevents this and is at variance with a regime of personal power. When he legally came to power in Germany, Hitler hastened not to propose a new constitution, but to abrogate the old one, the "Weimar Constitution." Conversely, in Spain in 1978 during the transition from the Franco regime to democracy the legal device ensuring this transition was precisely the constitution.

What the opponents of the constitution are frightening us with is a myth. The powers of the president in the draft are being compared with the powers that Boris Yeltsin had to win in an unending struggle from the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet, which had outlived their time. But why should you take as a yardstick an artificial hybrid of the last Soviet Constitution, which is essentially scarcely legitimate now? It would be better to compare the president's powers in the new draft with the analogous powers of, for instance, the presidents of the United States or France. Then it will become obvious that in our draft the presidential powers are entirely comparable with these recognized democratic standards, and frequently do not even go as far.

According to the draft constitution being put forward for the referendum, the judges in supreme federal courts are appointed by the Federal Assembly, although this is done on the basis of a proposal by the president. Opponents of the draft claim that this is extremely undemocratic, comparing it with the same Soviet Constitution where Constitutional Court judges, for example, were appointed by the Congress of People's Deputies on the basis of a proposal by the chairman of the two-chamber Supreme Soviet (also, incidentally, an unprecedented post). So what good did this "democratic" method do? The Constitutional Court is paralyzed. And the U.S. Supreme Court operates efficiently and autonomously, although its judges are appointed by presidents, which is the case almost worldwide.

[Nikitinskiy] Opponents of the draft who criticize it for excessive authoritarianism cite the fact that impeachment of the president is almost impossible while the president possesses the right to dissolve the State Duma.

[Tumanov] From the point of view of constitutional world practice, such presidential powers are a completely normal element in the separation of powers, the so-called checks and balances system. You should not give in to the emotions carried in words. You can use an expression such as the "disbandment of parliament." Or you can get by even without the word "dissolution," but say simply: The president is scheduling new parliamentary elections. And what is so terrible about that? In a stable

situation no one will resort to such an extreme measure, while in the event of an acute political crisis in a democratic system of the separation of powers there are two civilized solutions: Either to dismiss the government by a vote of no confidence by the parliament or to schedule new elections to parliament. [passage omitted]

[Nikitinskiy] In all your reasoning you seem to proceed from the assumption that the referendum will not only stand but that the draft Constitution will win the necessary majority. Do you not allow for any other possibilities?

[Tumanov] I really do not want to think along those lines, but, as a legal and constitutional expert I am simply obliged to do so. If the referendum stands, but the constitutional draft fails, and the elections to the as yet nonexistent Federal Assembly are held, then this is liable to result in the most unpleasant consequences not for the president, but for the future parliament.

Nothing threatens the president *de jure* in that case, and if you can talk of a vote of no confidence, then it is rather in the sociological sense than a formal legal sense. And the deputies elected to the nonexistent parliament may find themselves left hanging in legal vacuum. The organ to which they were elected does not exist. The parliament is elected on the basis of the model which is prescribed by the draft Constitution, which, in its turn, has been rejected. You cannot use the old Constitution, because that is a completely different model. You cannot rely on the president's legal acts, as they have been canceled out by the referendum. You cannot turn this congregation—elected for no one knows what purpose—into a Constituent Assembly, because the Constituent Assembly is constructed on the basis of completely different principles and completely different candidates would have been nominated for it and elected.

So, in the absence of any other solution, direct presidential rule would have to be implemented for a certain period of time, which might calm down the political passions.

[Nikitinskiy] You have described a pretty sinister but rather convincing prospect.

[Tumanov] In actual fact the chances of that happening are remote. Let us hope for a reasonable majority. But note who specifically is appealing for votes against. It is those who have few prospects in the future Federal Assembly and who are afraid that they may not get past the 5-percent mark at the elections who find it advantageous to ruin the referendum on the draft constitution or to cause it to fail. [passage omitted]

European Appraisal of Constitution Viewed

PM1012160793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Article by Nikolay Vitruk, acting chairman of the Constitutional Court: "The Fundamental Law of Life: In a

United International Community. Western Lawyers on the Draft Russian Federation Constitution"]

[Text] The draft Russian Federation constitution submitted for referendum 12 December proceeds from the assumption that multinational Russia is aware of itself as part of the world community and demonstrates its respect for and recognition of the principles and norms of international law, European standards for ensuring human and civil rights and freedoms, a pluralistic democracy, and a rule of law state. Compliance with the aforementioned principles and standards constitutes a compulsory condition of Russia's entry into the Council of Europe. Therefore, it was only logical that the draft Russian Federation constitution was submitted to the Council of Europe and the European Commission for Democracy Through Law for expert analysis.

None of the experts perceived the draft constitution which was examined as consolidating or shaping in any way an absolute or any other monarchy, a personal dictatorship, an authoritarian regime, and so on.

The Western lawyers offer a serious and detailed analysis of the basic constitutional institutions: human and civil rights and freedoms, federalism, mutual relations between president, government, and parliament, and local self-government.

Take for example the conclusion drawn by A. la Pergola on the subject of the institution of the president. The author believes that the key to understanding the figure of the president is the provision contained in Article 80 of the draft defining him as the guarantor of the Russian Federation constitution and of human and civil rights and freedoms, whose basic function is to protect the Russian Federation's sovereignty, independence, and state integrity and to ensure that the organs of state power function and collaborate in a coordinated manner. This conditions the "neutral" power of the president, acting as a political arbiter who does not intervene in the sphere of adjudication. These, in the Western expert's opinion, are new formulations and they deserve approval as they provide a specific answer to the question about the precise meaning of presidential protection of the constitution.

One innovation of the draft, according to A. la Pergola, resides in the attempt to find the mean between presidential and parliamentary forms of rule. At the same time, the expert exposes in detail both the positive and the negative sides of mutual relations between president, government, and parliament. He demonstrates the ambiguity of several provisions and the inconsistency in resolving "technical" procedures. Thus, endowing the president with the right to raise the question of no confidence in the government may be considered an innovative aspect of a semipresidential form of rule. But the president should only have the right to initiate this process. The complex procedure laid down in the draft can hardly make sense unless parliament has the last word in the question of the the government's resignation.

The expert is somewhat confused by the establishment of special rules for the government's resignation: The government must have "freedom of resignation." Practice shows, as the expert stresses, that keeping a government in power under any circumstances may prove to be a cure worse than the disease itself.

The draft submitted for referendum also takes into account the proposal that powers to express no confidence in the government should be transferred from the Federation Council to the State Duma. However, doubt is expressed over the need for the rigid procedure envisaged by Point 4 of Article 111 which leaves neither the president nor the State Duma any opportunity for maneuver if the Duma rejects three consecutive candidacies for the post of government chairman.

In the view of A. la Pergola, the grounds for suspending the president should be expounded in greater detail so that the organs of legislative and judicial power are unable to apply a broad interpretation to these grounds. Moreover, he does not see the need for rulings by the organs of judicial power on the issue of impeachment if they can be ignored by the legislative power.

Polish lawyer Z. Kedzia perceives as a positive change the fact that, unlike the first draft presented by the president, all the provisions on human rights and freedoms are contained in one chapter in subsequent drafts. This eliminates any differentiation between human rights, which the first draft took to mean only the "classic" civil and political rights, and the economic, social, and cultural rights previously contained in the chapter on "Citizens of the Russian Federation."

The problems of mutual relations between the Federation Council and the State Duma have not been overlooked either. A. la Pergola points to the vagueness of the term "joint examination," which does not make it clear whether this means a joint sitting of both parliamentary chambers, and what the status of such a sitting is. The draft submitted for referendum indicates that the Federation Council and the State Duma hold separate sittings.

S. Bartole's thoughts that the functions and powers of the organs of local self-government must be laid out in more detail in the constitution are of interest. He also expresses a fear that, since the determination of the general principles for organizing the system of organs of local self-government is under the joint control of the Federation and its components, this may lead to rivalry between them and, consequently, to restrictions on the autonomy and independence of local authorities.

Examining the problems of people's power, A. la Pergola believes that the range of questions which may be submitted for referendum, and the extent to which the implementation of decisions adopted at the referendum is mandatory, should be directly stipulated in the constitution in view of the particular importance of these questions.

The draft's articles concerning the judicial system were also analyzed. Kh.M. Pimentel [name as transliterated] suggests that the function of "oversight" by the Supreme Court and the Superior Court of Arbitration in respect of the activity of the lower courts contradicts world practice, whereby higher courts exercise control over the lower courts purely by hearing appeals against their rulings. The author also believes that the procedure for appointing judges of courts at federal level may lead to the excessive politicization of the said courts.

The remarks cited above may be taken into account when elaborating and adopting federal laws.

Yeltsin Aide Previews Regional Voting on Draft
MK1012111093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 10 Dec 93 p 2

[Sergey Parkhomenko report in the "Nuances" column: "The Kremlin No Longer Expects a Sweeping Victory. After 12 December Political Discipline Will Be Restored by Economic Methods"]

[Text] Practically no one in the Kremlin is still shy to admit that the most likely outcome of the voting will be that although the draft Russian constitution proposed by the president will make it through the 12 December referendum, it will do so just barely.

Moreover, recent public statements made in the course of the election campaign on behalf of the presidential administration suggest that the upper echelon of power has virtually put up with the prospect of the referendum's failing in at least several Russian territories. The heightened tone that is being heard in speeches by Sergey Filatov or Nikolay Medvedev, the promises to promulgate a special statement condemning the local leaders who "have declared war on the constitution" (although this idea is becoming less and less popular in the Kremlin with every passing hour), and the decisive statements by President Yeltsin himself in his yesterday's TV appearance—all this can hardly reverse the obstructionist tendencies that have prevailed in a number of regions.

It seems that today the presidential services are much more concerned with selecting effective arguments which the federal center is to use in the dialogue with the provinces after the ballot results have been announced.

Commenting at SEGODNYA's request on the possible prospects of the referendum, Professor Leonid Smirnyagin, a member of the Presidential Council, recalled that both the statute approved by presidential edict and the referendum law approved by the former Russian Federation Supreme Soviet "regard the voting as nationwide, that is to say, as proceeding regardless of internal state boundaries." "All calculations based on regional patterns [podschet regionalnogo plana] are done for purely auxiliary, in-house [sluzhebnyy] purposes," he said. According to Mr. Smirnyagin, "the status of the regions is already overgraded as it is" insofar as elections for the Federal Assembly are concerned. "The components not

only have the right to representation in the Federation Council, but the Duma election districts have been carved up without violating the administrative borders. It would be much more appropriate if the deputies finally forget that they are "from Tomsk Oblast," remembering instead that they are "from the people."

Agreeing that the failure of the referendum in separate territories will cause "moral damage" to the Federation, Leonid Smirnyagin is convinced: Moscow will have to "look for some new forms of interaction" with the regions that turn down the draft only because the number of those saying "no" encompasses vast geographical areas. "If, say, the European part of Russia supports the draft and, for instance, the North Caucasus or Urals or the Volga Region reject it as a whole, this will certainly provoke a scandal. This would be a severe blow to the state system. But fortunately, everything is so intertwined here. And voting on the constitution will not be able to split the country into several fragments with clearly delineated borders."

By thus introducing the new conceptions of "concentrated" or "fragmented" rejection, presidential advisers are apparently intent on facilitating for their boss the task of the pending interpretation of the referendum results. Confidence about the success of such an interpretation, however, appears somewhat premature against the backdrop of the April plebiscite results. An analysis of the 25 April voting, incidentally, showed that the opponents of Boris Yeltsin's policy are highly concentrated in the North Caucasus, Middle and South Urals, and the Transbaykal region (see, for example, the map published by SEGODNYA on 27 April 1993).

Mr. Smirnyagin (and with him, possibly most of his colleagues in the administrative structures), however, considers it necessary to recall the "excessive specialization" of the Russian economy and the parasitic tendency of the majority of the former autonomies, unable to exist without a constant inflow of subsidies from the Federal budget. "I am convinced," the Presidential Council member said, "that the center has quite enough economic levers at its disposal to maintain political discipline among regional leaders. Imagine, for instance, how some of them will be able to cope with a break in cash supply amid such inflation. Generally speaking, no one will be able to saw his bench off this galley and sail away on his own: the chains are interlocked too much."

Kalmykia Parliament Speaker Backs Draft

LD1012173993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1140
GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] The speaker of Kalmykia's parliament, Konstantin Maksimov, has said that his republic "has nothing to do" with the negative attitude to Russia's draft constitution voiced, according to some news media, by Tatarstan, Bashkortostan and Tuva.

In a cable sent to the leader of the Russian president's office, Sergey Filatov, Maksimov points out that

"Kalmykia has taken a consistently clear stand on the draft constitution: It is timely to conduct a referendum on Russia's draft constitution, and the adoption of a new constitution will be conducive to stabilizing civil peace and accord in Russia".

For its part the press service of Kalmykia's president qualified as not true the allegation of the chief of the department for work with the territories in the Russian president's office, Nikolay Medvedev that the leaders of Kalmykia, along with the leaders of some other republics, have strongly criticized some provisions of the draft constitution, and maybe even launched preparations for seceding from the Russian Federation.

In its statement the press service stresses that "neither the president nor the parliament speaker reject the draft constitution, even though they see some shortcomings in it. Moreover, Kalmykia's parliament on the whole approved the draft to be submitted to the upcoming referendum".

The press service also reaffirmed the stand taken by Kalmykia's President, Kirsan Ilyumzhinov, who said that "Kalmykia has been and will be a member of the Russian Federation".

Tatarstan's Shaymiyev on Talks With Filatov

LD1112155393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420
GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] [Tatarstan] President Mintimer Shaymiyev has declared in an exclusive interview with Interfax that he had a "detailed discussion" with the presidential administration chief Sergey Filatov. As a result of that conversation, in his words, the federal authorities have not published a statement against three republics - Bashkiria, Tatarstan, and Tuva - promised by Moscow.

Last Wednesday, Filatov made it clear that the center would apparently respond at official level to "the war" which, in his words, "was declared on the draft constitution" in the republics. He explained that this concerned the position of these republics leaders, "who are claiming sovereignty for themselves", rather than the position of the peoples of Tatarstan, Bashkiria, and Tuva.

In Shaymiyev's opinion, the outcome of his talks with Filatov points to his strength rather than weakness as a politician. "A statement and to be more precise an attempt by the authors and advocates of what they regard as the most democratic constitution to press the public would hardly add votes to the draft either in Tatarstan or in Bashkortostan, where the first president will be elected on December 12", Shaymiyev said.

In his view, "such statements spring from the fact that the presidential staff is inadequately informed about

what's really happening in Tatarstan and other republics." Although republican parliament has voiced its attitude toward the basic law, Shaymiyev stressed, it has never called for its boycott.

In his words, critical attitude toward the new constitution is his personal civic position, which he did not conceal even in the summer when its draft was more democratic by nature. He recalled that Tatar representatives had left the constitutional conference in Moscow then since the republic's proposals had been ignored.

Ural Republic To Support Constitution

MK1112140793 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 2

[Report by Vsevolod Solovyev from Yekaterinburg under the "Ural" rubric: "Yekaterinburg Will Apparently Vote for Market. No Election Passions Seethe in Boris Yeltsin's Home Town"]

[Text] "Everything is proceeding kind of under wraps," was the comment on the election campaign in Yekaterinburg by one of its residents. One would expect that the extremely short distance of the election race should have at once sent election passions to an extreme, as happens in a sprint rather than a marathon. Here, however, like in many other places, politicians' election tussles got lost in the thick of everyday problems, while the October events made many people indifferent to what politicians say. But the above does not point to the voters' complete passivity and aloofness, not by a long shot. This is merely a rather characteristic, salient, trait of the dwindling election campaign. It is expected that a greater part of Yekaterinburg residents—up to 60 percent—will after all come to the polls on Sunday. And they will vote primarily for those who definitely and expressly do not advocate a communist Russia, but who advocate a democratic Russia and a market-based economy. The most active in the elections will be the intelligentsia, as well as blue- and white-collar workers employed in high-tech production. According to forecasts, Russia's Choice may win nearly a fifth of the votes, while the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms and "Yabloko" half as much. All the other parties and blocs will hardly be able to clear the 5-percent barrier. The parties, however, think these forecasts doubtful and expect much higher returns. The Agrarian Party, for example, led here by the not unknown Vladimir Isakov, maintain that they are going to garner no fewer votes than "Yabloko." It is important to point out that the organizers of the election campaign in Yekaterinburg are convinced that most of the voters will be voting for political leaders they have come to like and whose names are most frequently heard rather than for some specific political platform. Sociologists think that as little as one-tenth of the voters can make sense of the platforms of different parties, meaning that only one voter in every ten would make an absolutely conscientious choice, while the rest would be guided by their likes and dislikes.

The figure of Eduard Rossel, formed head of the administration of the former Ural Republic, stands well apart. He is running for the Federation Council, and few hear doubt about his victory. As is known, 85 percent of Ural residents voted in the recent referendum for a Ural Republic as a component of the Russian Federation, equal in its right with those of ethnic republics. The president's scrapping of the Ural Republic and Rossel's removal from his position gave the disgraced governor fresh trump cards in the election struggle. Those offended against are still loved most in this country. As for Mr. Rossel, who won great prestige here among all sections of the population, he took direct hits from the authorities, landing virtually in the same position as Boris Yeltsin in the late 1980's and early 1990's. Generally, the president's latest political maneuvers lost him some admirers in his home base. Yet Yekaterinburg can still be considered as Yeltsin's citadel, precisely why few doubt that the draft constitution proposed by him will meet with approval in the Ural.

Yeltsin Aide Kostikov Reports Constitution Adopted

LD1212214393

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 2122 GMT on 12 December carries a live report on remarks by Presidential Press Secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov from the Kremlin in Moscow, during the "Seeing in the New Political Year at the Kremlin Palace" program.

Kostikov says: "First of all, I would like to tell you about a serious victory for democracy, regardless of the specific results of the voting. First, the important thing is that the constitution has been adopted, and this will now be the huge core around which our entire political life will be built."

Urged by the announcer to repeat his remarks, Kostikov says: "Dear Russians, the constitution has been adopted. We are living in a new state, under new democratic authorities."

Shumeyko: 'Nearly 60 Percent' Voted for Constitution

LD1212220793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2146 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—Russian First Vice-Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko said on Monday the draft Russian constitution was approved in the referendum.

According to preliminary results, "and this is for sure, that the Constitution of the Russian Federation has been passed," said Shumeyko, who is head of the commission which prepared the referendum.

"Nearly 60 per cent of Russians voted for the draft constitution," Shumeyko told Ostankino Television on Monday.

Electoral Commission Gives Preliminary Data on Vote*LD1312114193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1126 GMT 13 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—According to preliminary data released by the Central Electoral Commission, about 53 per cent of all registered voters in Russia turned out to vote in the Sunday referendum on the draft constitution. Some sixty percent of the voters cast their ballots in favour of the new constitution, Central Electoral Commission member Anastasia Tur told ITAR-TASS.

According to the rules for the constitutional referendum, it is considered approved by a popular vote if more than one half of all registered voters take part in the referendum and more than one half of them cast their ballots in favour of the constitution. This means that the new constitution is now considered to be lawfully approved in Russia.

ITAR-TASS also learned that the Central Electoral Commission has decided to issue a statement saying that the central electoral commission had nothing to do with the information concerning the results of the voting which was broadcast from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses last night.

Commission Stresses No Connection to TV Program*LD1312152993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1427 GMT 13 Dec 93*

[Statement issued by the Central Electoral Commission on 13 December]

[Text] On the night of 12-13 December, Bragin, the Ostankino Russian State Television and Radio Company chairman presented a live so-called political television show entitled "Russia's Constitution—Greeting a New Year in Politics."

The Central Electoral Commission of the Russian Federation announces that no member of the Central Electoral Commission of the Russian Federation had any part in preparing, organizing, or presenting this event. The Central Electoral Commission of the Russian Federation, in accordance with Russian Federation election legislation, did not furnish the organizers of or participants in the event at the State Kremlin Palace with any facts or figures whatsoever pertaining to results of polling, either for the Federation Assembly of the Russian Federation, or for the draft constitution of the Russian Federation.

At present, the Central Electoral Commission of the Russian Federation is engaged in processing preliminary information being received from constituency electoral

commissions. Information on the results of polling will be published in accordance with existing Russian Federation legislation.

[Signed] Nikolay Timofeyevich Ryabov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission

Preliminary Results of Referendum in Regions Detailed**INTERFAX Reports on Regional Results***LD1312055193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0412 GMT 13 Dec 93*

[Text] By 1:00 in the morning on Monday, early referendum results came from 10 electoral districts: the Magadan and Moscow regions, the Jewish Autonomous Region, the Aginskiy-Buryat, Koryak, Ust-Ordynskiy, Khanty-Mansiyskiy, and Chukotskiy Districts.

Voting for the constitution there were 61.7% of the electorate against 38.2%. Nearly 3% of the ballots there were declared invalid. In the Moscow region, more than half of the registered voters took part in the referendum, 60% of them voted for and 39% against the constitution. In the Jewish Republic, 48% of the electorate participated, 100% voted for the constitution. In Chukotka, 75% were for and 24% against.

Draft Fails in Altay Kray by 'Tiny Fraction'*LD1312062193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0611 GMT 13 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valentin Pavlov]

[Text] Barnaul December 13 ITAR-TASS—According to preliminary results 54.3 per cent of Altay territory voters cast their ballots in the Sunday elections but failed to approve the new constitution by a tiny fraction—a few tenths of a per cent.

As concerns the parliamentary elections, the Agrarian Party was evidently the territory's favourite electoral coalition which collected 91,578 votes. The Zhirinovskiy party came second with 88,811 votes and the Communist Party of the Russian Federation was third with 29,560 ballots cast in its favour.

The Women of Russia collected 25,450 votes, and Russia's Choice 22,564.

70 Percent of Muscovites Approve Draft*LD1312082993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0818 GMT 13 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Sugak]

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—Nearly 70 per cent of Muscovites who took part in the elections and the referendum on Sunday said yes to the new constitution of Russia, according to chairman of the city electoral commission Anatoliy Petrov.

Speaking at a press conference in the mayor's office, Petrov said that 52 per cent of registered voters in Moscow took part in the elections.

The results of the polls in the parliamentary elections will be made public in the afternoon.

Sakhalin Voters Favor Draft

LD1312113793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Mayak continues to receive reports from our correspondents from different regions in the country about the results of yesterday's elections. Viktor Korotkikh reports from Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk.

[Korotkikh] The Sakhalin District Electoral Commission has produced preliminary results of the elections to the Federal Assembly and the referendum on the draft of Russia's new constitution.

More than 50 percent of voters of the island oblast took part in the elections, and 64 percent of those who took part in the referendum voted for the constitution. As far as the elections to the Federal Assembly are concerned, Yevgeniy Krasnoyarov, the oblast governor, and (Mikhail Romanovski), general director of the Sakhalin Maritime Shipping Line joint-stock company, were elected to the upper chamber, the Federation Council, with a large lead over their four competitors.

The island inhabitants voted (Boris Tretyak), manager of the Sakhalin Geophysical Prospecting Trust, as their representative in the State Duma. He too was way ahead of his opponents, among whom was Valentin Fedorov, the oblast's former governor and currently Russian deputy economics minister. Those in Sakhalin and the Kurils voted for the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia and the Women of Russia bloc from the party lists of the Federation-wide electoral district.

Voting was conducted in an organized and clear manner, and observers did not have anything to report.

Viktor Korotkikh from Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, especially for Mayak.

Vladikavkaz Reportedly Approves Draft

LD1312123693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Report by correspondent Irina Gukayeva from Vladikavkaz]

[Text] In accordance with the third point of the Russian president's decree on prolonging the state of emergency in several areas of North Ossetia and the Ingush Republic, the terms of the state of emergency were suspended during the elections. Servicemen transferred to the temporary administration and deployed in Vladikavkaz took part in the elections. One thing can be said today with all certainty—the elections in North Ossetia are valid. According to preliminary information,

the majority of those who voted said yes to Russia's new constitution. Only in the Kirovskiy Rayon—one of the republic's rural rayons—did voters vote against the constitution. Aleksandr Sergeyevich Zasukhov, cochairman of the Association for Peace and Cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region, won the election to the State Duma with an overwhelming lead.

A majority of voters voted for Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and Sergey Khetagurov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of North Ossetia, from among the candidates to the Federation Council. The Communist Party of Russia is well ahead of other blocs and parties. A significant number of voters voted for Russia's Choice and the Democratic Party of Russia. No violations were recorded during the elections.

Kabardino-Balkarian Supports Draft

LD1312131893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1143 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Officials in the Kabardino-Balkarian regional election commission told INTERFAX that 66.98 percent of the voters had approved the new Constitution. The referendum had been vigorously obstructed by local nationalistic organizations and pro-communist groups. A total of 57.5 percent of the local electorate voted in the elections and referendum.

'Text' of Yeltsin Statement on Referendum Results

LD1312162893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1535 GMT 13 Dec 93

["Text" of "political statement" issued by the President's Press Center on 13 December]

[Text] Citizens of Russia: For the first time in Russia, elections and a referendum have taken place in conditions of political pluralism and real democratic freedom. For the first time in Russian history, the conditions have been created for Russian citizens to express their will honestly and democratically. You have made your choice. It determines the path of Russia's development for the long-term future. In voting for the new constitution, you have ensured the conditions for the stable development of the reforms and democracy.

The new constitution is our common hope for the rebirth of a great and strong Russia. It creates the political prerequisites for the implementation of your rights to a better life, to civil rights, and to a worthy future for your children.

As president of the Russian Federation, I will adhere firmly to the new constitution and do everything necessary to guarantee, on the basis of your constitutional choice, that the democratic processes are irreversible, and to create a strong constitutional impediment to all attempts to revise your democratic choice. I believe along with you in the future of Russia and the future of Russian democracy.

Signed: Boris Yeltsin.

Preliminary Results

Kozyrev Wins Seat in State Duma

*LD1312152493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1453
GMT 13 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vasilii Belousov]

[Text] Murmansk December 13 TASS—According to preliminary estimates, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has won in Murmansk's Constituency 116 in Sunday's elections to the State Duma, outstripping his other nine rivals.

Unofficial sources said that according to preliminary data, Sergey Iyevlev, who was running for a seat in the Federation Council, the upper house of Russia's new parliament, won in Constituency 51. He is followed by Lyudmila Pobedinskaya, regional administration business manager.

The Liberal Democratic Party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and the Russia's Choice election bloc are in the lead among parties and electoral blocs in the region.

Shumeyko Elected to Federation Council

*LD1212234493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in
Russian 2255 GMT 12 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—“The government and the course of reforms remain the same,” said First Vice-Premier Vladimir Shumeyko in an interview to an ITAR-TASS correspondent. Speaking about the composition of the future government, he said that there might be some changes within the government, but in general its composition will remain the same.

Commenting on the preliminary results of the voting, the first vice-premier voiced the hope that “the democratic forces will manage to have a majority in the future parliament”.

Vladimir Shumeyko said that he has been elected to the upper chamber (the Federation council) of the new parliament.

1991 Coup Plotter Elected to Upper Chamber

*LD1312044493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0436
GMT 13 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Rudenko]

[Text] Tula December 13 TASS—Vasilii Starodubtsev, who is standing trial as an organiser of the 1991 abortive Soviet coup, have most evidently secured success at the elections to the Federation Council, the upper chamber of the new legislature.

He is running ahead of his rival by a third of votes, according to preliminary results. The second candidate

is Aleksandr Titkin, president of a financial and investment company. Titkin was the director of an enterprise which was privatised among the first in Russia.

Starodubtsev, who is now chairman of a collective farm, won most support in the towns of Novomoskovsk and Tula.

If elected Starodubtsev would get parliamentary immunity and could not be tried unless the parliament strips him of it.

The Liberal Democratic Party leads elections in Tula region with some 17 per cent while the Russia's Choice Bloc won 15-17 per cent. The Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc is third with 10-12 per cent, Communists come fourth with 10 per cent. The Women of Russia Bloc overcame the five per cent barrier.

Economist Eduard Pashchenko supported by the Russia's Choice won elections in a one seat-constituency.

Some 60-65 per cent of the turnout voted for the constitution in Tula, according to preliminary results.

Khasbulatov's Nomination to Dagestan Government Denied

*LD1312063193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0412
GMT 13 Dec 93*

[Text] A report about the nomination of the ex Russian Parliament's Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov to governing bodies in Dagestan is false. This is said in a cable sent by the Chairman of the Makhachkala Electoral Commission Siyabshakh Shapiev to the Central Electoral Commission's Chairman Nikolay Ryabov at his request.

“No local elections are under way in Dagestan now”, the message notes.

Former Sverdlovsk Governor Elected to Federation Council

*LD1312133493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1143
GMT 13 Dec 93*

[Text] Former administration head of the Sverdlovsk Region Eduard Rossel, who had been dismissed by President Yeltsin following the establishment of the Urals Republic, was elected to the Federation Council. He was supported by 61.87 percent of those who voted, Interfax was told by the regional election working group.

The other representative of the region in the Federation Council will be Galina Karelova, former deputy chairman of the regional soviet.

A total of 48 percent of the electorate in the region reported to the polling stations, 49 percent of whom approved of the new Constitution.

Rossel told Interfax that the failure of the constitutional referendum in the region was largely attributable to the recent events in the aftermath of the setting up of the Urals Republic.

He blamed Sergey Filatov, the presidential chief of staff, whom he regards as the author of the decree disbanding the republic, for "killing the voting in the Sverdlovsk Region.

Rossel said that democrats should join forces in the lower house of the Federal Assembly in order to confront Zhirinovskiy's party.

He did not think that the December 12 elections were a beginning of a new era but thought that "we again did something we cannot comprehend." People did not understand what they voted for, he emphasized.

The ex-governor also said that he wanted the deputies from the Urals six regions and two republics to unite into a Urals Senate which would be an unofficial representative body while the Economic Interaction Association of the area would act as its executive branch.

Official Details Voting of Citizens Living Abroad

LD1312161293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1520 GMT 13 Dec 93

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] A total of 75 percent of Russian citizens who came to Russian embassies and consulates on Sunday [12 December] backed Russia's new Constitution, the deputy chairman of the Foreign Ministry's commission for elections, Yuriy Popov, told Interfax on Monday.

According to him, an impressive number of Russian nationals living or staying abroad - about 90 percent - cast their votes.

According to Interfax's interviewee, this number may prove to be lower, since the data concerning the Baltic countries, where most of the Russians living abroad reside (about 70,000), is not available yet.

As Popov said, voting in the framework of elections to Russia's Federal Assembly was organized fairly well in all countries. "Even in Romania, despite pickets outside the Russian embassy in Bucharest staged in connection with the Ilascu case, the voting went on in a calm atmosphere. Fortunately, there were no incidents in Algeria either," he said.

Speaking about the preliminary results of the voting abroad, Popov said that the Russia's Choice bloc was in the lead there. It is followed by the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc and by Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party, he said.

The results of voting in the Baltic countries may influence the general picture, Interfax's interviewee noted. The law of large numbers must not be ignored. Even if

only 15 to 20 thousand people came to the polling stations in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, their opinion may affect the overall stand taken by the Russians living abroad, he said.

Popov believes that about 20 percent of the Russians living abroad cast their ballots for Russia's Choice, and about 10 to 12 percent for the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc. Zhirinovskiy's LDP and Zyuganov's Communist Party evidently collected 10 percent of the vote each. "These are only preliminary results, of course. The official data will be announced by the Central Electoral Commission," he pointed out.

According to Interfax's interviewee, Russian diplomats working abroad are "disciplined and conservative people". "It's not surprising therefore that at the polling stations abroad the name of Zhirinovskiy gave rise to no excitement," he said.

Russian Citizens Vote in Georgia

LD1312160393

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 1445 GMT on 13 December broadcasts a 3-minute report from Georgia by IPRINDA correspondent Zurab Dvali on the voting there by Russian Federation citizens and servicemen on 12 December. The correspondent notes that polling stations were located at the Russian Embassy and at the headquarters of the Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus. Colonel (Gennadiy Dolgachev), head of the headquarters press center, told Dvali that "about 80 percent of registered voters, mainly servicemen and their families, cast their votes. The majority of them, according to preliminary results, voted for the Russia's Choice bloc. At the same time, the head of the press center says, quite a few voters preferred to give their vote to the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy."

Turning to the voting in the Georgian capital, Tbilisi, the correspondent notes that the "elections passed successfully at the Russian Embassy in Tbilisi, too. The embassy's charge d'affaires in Georgia said that about 90 percent of the electorate voted, former citizens of Georgia who recently acquired Russian citizenship but who have not yet moved to the Russian Federation, and also citizens of Russia on business in Georgia, members of the Russian diplomatic mission, and so on. According to preliminary figures, here too the referendum on the new constitution and the elections to the State Duma in general reflected the general mood of federation citizens."

Dvali adds that Eduard Shevardnadze congratulated the Russian people in his Monday morning address.

Zhirinovskiy Appears 'Clear Winner' in Far East

LD1312023193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0021 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] The Liberal Democratic Party, led by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, seems a clear winner in Far Eastern rural

areas. A spokesman for the Central Electoral Commission has told Interfax with reference to preliminary information that the party collected 15-20 percent of votes from Chukotka to Krasnoyarsk. He also quoted the local electoral commissions chiefs as saying that the party proved popular among servicemen in the Far Eastern and Baykal Military Districts.

He suggested that by Monday [13 December] morning the situation with election returns might "significantly change" since data from the country's four leading regions have not been processed so far. He identified these regions as Moscow, St. Petersburg, North Caucasus, and Urals and said that they accounted for about 40 percent of the electorate.

Leading in 'Most' Regions

LD1312011293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0039 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—Nationalist leader of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDPR] Vladimir Zhirinovskiy consolidated success in parliamentary polls in most Russian regions, according to preliminary results announced by the "Ostankino" TV network which also showed that the "Women of Russia" bloc is quite sure to win seats in the new parliament.

In the northern European regions of Russia Zhirinovskiy has secured a firm lead with 26.6 per cent. The Russia's Choice is second with 21.2 per cent and Yavlinskii's bloc comes third with 11.2 per cent. The Communists enjoyed a 8.6 per cent of support in the regions.

In the southern European regions of Russia Zhirinovskiy leads with 18.3 per cent, Russia's Choice is second with 16.1 per cent, the Communists come third with 10.5 per cent.

In Siberia and the Urals the Russia's Choice comes first with 20.7 per cent, Zhirinovskiy is second with 15.1 per cent and Communists are third with 12.0 per cent, the bloc of Grigory Yavlinskii is fourth with 10.4 per cent.

In the Far East the Communist Party is in the lead with 18.3 per cent. The Russia's Choice got 14.6 per cent, Zhirinovskiy is close with 14.4 per cent.

The Women of Russia election bloc made a rather unexpected success in Siberia and the Urals where it got 10.3 per cent of votes and in the Far East where it enjoyed 11.4 per cent.

The Democratic Party of Russia managed to overcome the 5 per cent hurdle in all the mentioned regions while the Party of Russian Unity and Accord either surpassed the barrier or was close to it.

The Agrarian Party overcame the barrier in Siberia and the Urals, in the Far East and won 3.5 per cent in northern Russian regions.

The "Ostankino" TV network which promised to cover elections all the night through unexpectedly announced a

break in its broadcasts until 06.00 hours Moscow time (03.00 GMT). It gave no reasons for the break, but had earlier complained it was denied information on the preliminary results.

More on LDPR Leading

LD1312130493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] A roundup of data from vote counting in the elections to the Federal Assembly in 10 constituent parts of the Federation—Amur, Sakhalin, Tomsk, Magadan, Kursk, and Smolensk oblasts, and the Urals—has been given to INTERFAX by Nikolay Medvedev, chief of the presidential administration's regional management department.

In these regions, 26 percent of voters in total voted for the Liberal Democratic Party [LDPR], 13 percent for the Communist Party of Russia, 12 percent for Russia's Choice, 8 percent for the Agrarian Party, and 7 percent for the Women of Russia bloc. The Yavlinskii-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc got 6 percent of the votes, and the Democratic Party and the Party of Russian Unity and Accord each got 5 percent.

Nikolay Medvedev thinks this will be the picture for Russia as a whole.

LDPR, CPR, Russia's Choice Lead in Major Regions

LD1312114293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1134 GMT 13 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—According to preliminary data, the Liberal Democratic Party [LDPR] of Vladimir Zhirinovskii, the Communist Party of Russia [CPR] (Gennadiy Zyuganov) and Russia's Choice (Yegor Gaydar) are in the lead in ten major regions of Russia, including Kursk, Smolensk and Tomsk, the Urals and the Far East.

The gap between the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and Russia's Choice is very close to one per cent, according to Nikolay Medvedev, head of the presidential administration's department for work with regions.

According to Medvedev, the Agrarian Party comes fourth, closely followed by the movement "Women of Russia," with the Yavlinskii bloc coming sixth in the amount of seats they will have in the new parliament.

According to sources in the local electoral commissions in the ten regions of Russia, the total percentage of votes indicates that the constitution has won overall approval, although in some regions the voters were against the new fundamental law.

Russia's Choice Leads in Moscow

LD1312142493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1356
GMT 13 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Sugak]

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—Reports from 27 out of Moscow's 35 polling stations said that by 1500 the Russia's Choice election bloc was in the lead in Moscow's elections to the city duma. None of the candidates of the Liberal Democratic Party have won the elections in the city.

Final results of the voting will be announced within three days, Anatoliy Petrov, head of the city electoral commission, said on Monday.

Yavlinsky Bloc Leads in St. Petersburg

LD1212231593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2301
GMT 12 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] St. Petersburg December 13 TASS—The Yavlinsky-Boldyrev-Lukin election bloc is leading in St. Petersburg. TASS learned from reliable sources which did not provide any figures.

According to the source, the Russia's Choice comes second and is followed by the Liberal Democratic Party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, by the Democratic Party of Russia, the communists and the Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms.

Krasnoyarsk Region Unofficial Election Results Detailed

LD1312133093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1143
GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] By early unofficial reports, 51.3 percent of the electorate turned out at the polls to vote in the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Less than one half of the urban and over 60 percent of the rural electorate came to the polling stations. In Norilsk less than 34 percent came to the polls.

The constitutional draft was approved by 58.1 percent of the voters and rejected by 37 percent.

Russia's Choice emerged as the leading bloc, followed by the Liberal Democratic and Communist Parties.

Valeriy Zubov, head of the territorial administration, and Petr Romanov, director of the Yenisey chemical works, have been elected to the Federation Council.

Yakutia Election Commission Chairman Details Results

LD1312132293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1143
GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Chairman of Yakutia's election commission told INTERFAX that, by early reports, 51 percent of the electorate took part in the voting there.

Of these, 59 percent voted for the new Constitution. The republic's president Mikhail Nikolayev and mayor of the town of Neryungri Eduard Esterlein were elected to the Federation Council. The 5 percent barrier was overcome by, in order of popularity, Sergey Shakhray's Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRES], Russia's Choice, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party, the Communist Party and Russia's Women.

According to Russia's Choice, that bloc became the largest single party in Chelyabinsk with 26.4 percent of the voters supporting it, followed by 17.5 percent for Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's LDP, 14.2 percent for the Yavlinsky-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc, 8.2 percent for the Russian Democratic Reform Movement and 6.4 percent for the Communist Party.

Sergey Shakhray's PRES and Nikolay Travkin's Democratic Party won 4.9 and 4.6 percent, respectively.

Election Results for Maritime, Khabarovsk Krays Reported

OW1312132193 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhyy
Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0815 GMT 13
Dec 93

[From the "Pacific Ocean" Program]

[Text] According to information from the district electoral commission, elections in Maritime Kray were deemed valid. According to accurate information, 50.17 percent of the 1,533,000 registered voters cast ballots. The most active support came from rural districts inhabitants.

According to preliminary results received at the district electoral commission, voting on the draft constitution in Khabarovsk Kray was deemed invalid. Although harsh weather conditions prevented the results of several electoral districts from being received by the morning of 13 December, it was already clear that the sum total of votes would not exceed the necessary amount of 50 percent of registered voters. According to data from the district electoral commission, 46.67 percent of voters were recorded as having voted. The election failed to reach the required number of votes in major inhabited centers of Khabarovsk and Komsomolsk-na-Amure in Khabarovsk Kray. Of the voters who did participate in the election, the majority, 60 to 70 percent, supported the draft constitution. Voting documentation from Vanino and Sovetskaya Gavan will have to be delivered to Khabarovsk and Komsomolsk-na-Amure district electoral commissions at a later date. The snow storm has

grounded all air transport. According to the weathermen, neither aircraft or helicopters will be able to fly for several days. All this will delay the final tally of results of the Federation Council and the State Duma election and will also delay the results of voting on the draft constitution in Khabarovsk Kray.

INTERFAX Reports Election Commission Results LD1312022693

[Editorial Report] Moscow INTERFAX in English at 0132 GMT on 13 December reports the following election results according to local election commissions:

According to the Moscow Central Election Commission, in the Central District (in percent):

Russia's Choice	36.16
Liberal Democrats	11.32
Communists	10.94
Yavlinsky-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc	10.91
Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms	7.57

The election commission source notes that "among those who have not collected 5 percent of votes are the Russian Future-New Names, Dignity and Mercy, Cedar, the Civic Union, and the Russian Agrarian Party.

"The independent candidate Artyom Tarasov has collected the largest number of votes (17.97 percent). He runs to the State Duma on one-mandate district. He is followed by Fyodor Shelov-Kovedyaev (14.42 percent).

"Nikolay Gonchar (34.93 percent) is in the lead to the Council of Federation. He is followed by Yuriy Chernenchenko (26.63 percent)."

According to Interfax sources in the regional administration in Chelyabinsk, the current results in the elections to the State Duma are as follows (in percent):

Liberal Democrats	22.5
Russia's Choice	18.7
Yavlinsky-Boldyrev-Lukin	11.2
Russian Women	9.8
Communists	5.8

The remaining alliances and parties have not received the needed 5 percent.

Interfax further notes that "in the rural areas of the Orenburg Region the Agrarian Party is in the lead. It is followed by Liberal Democrats, Russia's Choice, the Communists. The information was provided to Interfax by the working group of the regional administration.

The agency further reports that "as many as 50.2 percent took part in the elections in the Maritime Territory, Interfax has been told by the election commission.

"Reports say that 17 percent of people there voted for Russia's Choice, 14 percent for Liberal Democrats, 13 percent for Communists, 11 percent for the Yavlinsky-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc and 8.8 percent for Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms.

"A spokesman for the working group at the head of the Yekaterinburg administration has said that by preliminary estimates Russia's Choice and Liberal Democrats are in the lead in Yekaterinburg."

Kozyrev Holds News Conference 10 Dec

Rejects 'Imperial Role' in Europe

LD1012181993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1542 GMT 10 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Krylovich and Vladimir Taranov]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Dec—"Russia rejects an imperial role in Europe. We do not intend to pursue any kind of Brezhnevite doctrine. Therefore, we cannot dictate or veto sovereign decisions of the states of Central and Eastern Europe when the matter concerns which alliances and associations they are to join," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said at a news conference today in the press center of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry.

In his words, this is not the point. "Immediately after the Russian president's visit to Poland, we let it be clearly understood that, although we do not impose vetoes against or dictate orders to Eastern European states, at the same time, we do have our own point of view. This is that there should be cooperation with NATO, and it should be as broad and as specific as possible," he noted. "After that, it will be only desirable to weigh up specifically the question of which countries should form their own relations with NATO and when and how they should do so."

Briefly, the formula is this, the Russian foreign minister stressed: "Not membership, but partnership". Kozyrev noted that this was the keynote of the conversation that took place between NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner and Russian President Boris Yeltsin during Yeltsin's latest visit to Brussels.

Outlines Priorities in Human Rights

LD1012171993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1520 GMT 10 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Krylovich and Vladimir Taranov]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Dec—Addressing a news conference in Moscow today devoted to the International Day of Human Rights, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev outlined the priorities in Russian foreign policy in the field of human rights.

The Russian foreign political department will concentrate its main efforts in the field on protecting and ensuring the rights of the Russian-speaking population in the republics of the former USSR, on strengthening the protection of human rights and democratic freedoms on all the territory of the former Soviet Union within the CIS framework, and also on a bilateral basis. In addition, counteraction to extremism and aggressive nationalism, and active peace-making based on strict observance of human rights everywhere are being regarded as priority directions for Russian foreign policy.

Andrey Kozyrev stressed that the first free elections on a multiparty basis, as well as the 12 December referendum on the draft constitution, will play a special role in guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of Russian citizens.

The Russian minister admitted that human rights are not being observed in full everywhere. Among the violations he mentioned are delays in payments of salaries, pensions and grants, a rise in unemployment, registration of permanent residence (which still exists in some regions), crime, and the worsening of the ecological situation. There are cases of embezzlement and permissiveness. The number of people who need housing is not decreasing.

The list, the minister said, can be continued. But we see our objective, once the constitution is adopted, in ensuring that the state fulfils its functions as regards the protection of human rights.

Views Ties With EC

LD1012160193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1436 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] At a news conference for Russian and foreign journalists held at the Foreign Ministry press center today, the Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev commented on the documents signed by President Boris Yeltsin in the course of his visit to Belgium.

Replying to a question of whether the prospects of Russia's contacts with the EC contradicted Russia's contacts with the Central and East European countries, Kozyrev said:

[Begin Kozyrev recording] I do not think that this is a task we are setting. We are setting a task which is very precisely outlined in the declaration signed by the president. The declaration even bears this name here—the political declaration of partnership and cooperation.

I think that this declaration represents a very serious step. The point is that this document does not bind anyone to do anything. It is not a declaration of intent as, incidentally, some of our media attempt to portray it, for some reason. It is a declaration concerning a fact—the fact of the achievement—and here in the text, this is mentioned all the time. If you read the text carefully, you will see that this is a declaration concerning the fact that agreements have been reached or, rather, that a large agreement has been reached on partnership and cooperation between Russia and the European Union.

The agreement contains a provision linked to the liberalization of trade, the setting up of more stable and predictable conditions for trade, the softening up of quantitative restrictions. The document—the declaration that has been signed—is concerned with the very essence of this large agreement that spans about 100 pages of text. It will be translated. The agreement makes it possible for us to break our economic isolation, our economic quarantine, which is something that has, to a considerable extent, been self-imposed.

To some extent this isolation has been caused by the fact that our partners have become used to Russia not being there, and now many do not, of course, want a new competitor to emerge. However, thanks to our political partnership, we agreed to sign this document. The objective is to set up a common economic zone which, beyond doubt, is advantageous for a competitive market economy and, at the same time, at an early stage, jointly with all these states, we are elaborating mechanisms on a bilateral basis that would lead to a situation in which following their joining the European Union in one form or another, Russia—I mean our bilateral relations—would not suffer. [sentence as received]

When we are engaged in these talks we take maximum account of the interests of our Central and East European partners, because the task is not to set up closed bloc, but, on the contrary, to make use of the opportunities of cooperation to a maximum possible extent. [end recording]

Confirms Plans To Visit Warsaw

LD1012221893 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, Dec. 10—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev confirmed on Friday in Moscow that he is planning to pay a visit to Poland. He did not give, however, the exact date.

Kozyrev told the press conference that he is willing to talk with his Polish counterpart Andrzej Olechowski about the problems of European security.

He also declared that Russia does not intend to interfere in the sovereign decisions of the East European countries including decisions on their prospective membership in international organisations. Kozyrev admitted, however, that Russia has very serious and special interests and is held responsible in a considerable geopolitical area.

Denies Remark on 'Unpreparedness for Democracy'

MK1112102093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 2

[Leonid Velekhov report in the "Denial" column: "Andrey Kozyrev's Electors Are Ready for Democracy. The Candidate for Deputy Has Hastened To Justify Himself"]

[Text] The unexpectedly called press conference by Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who had arrived from Brussels three hours before, caused many to wonder about the reason for its "convocation." The official cause, however, was promptly announced—Human Rights Day—but after the participants received Foreign Affairs Ministry handouts devoted to this subject, it was not brought up again. The very first question addressed to the minister, and moreover Kozyrev's reaction to it ("I have been thinking: Will I have to raise this issue myself?"), explained a lot. What was at issue was a

quotation from Kozyrev's speech in Murmansk about Russia's "unpreparedness" for democracy which has been widely reported in the press. Published right on the eve of election day, it has certainly damaged the position of the democratic minister and candidate of Russia's Choice in the eyes of his electors and other citizens. And it is quite possible that one of the main motives forcing Kozyrev to summon the press literally hours before the elections was actually his wish to justify himself. The foreign minister said that he had "never in his life" said anything of the kind and that the false report was cooked up by INTERFAX, which he was initially going to sue but was eventually dissuaded from doing so. Mr. Kozyrev also noted that he was hurt by the fact that SEGODNYA and MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, for which he has "certain respect," immediately fell for the hoax and, instead of verifying the information, attacked him. True, Mr. Kozyrev added, "I am glad that our papers have not lost their militant vigor." As for Russia and in particular Kozyrev's Murmansk electors, in his opinion, they are not only ready for democracy but are "hungry" for it, although they live under very difficult conditions.

Touching on the results of Russian Federation President Yeltsin's trip to Brussels and in this context Russia's cooperation with the EC, the foreign minister said that things are moving toward the signing of a corresponding agreement, and that all that remains to be done are some technical formalities. The Russian president does not need to sign it himself: under the established procedure, this is done at foreign minister level.

According to the minister, everything has also been settled in relations with NATO, which in fact has accepted Russia's concept for cooperation with the Central and East European countries, including Russia. In the future this cooperation may quite possibly lead to these countries' joining the North Atlantic alliance.

More on Yeltsin, Delegation Visit to Brussels

Yeltsin Allegedly 'Misled'

MK1012134093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 10 Dec 93 p 1

[Mikhail Leontyev article: "Declaration Signed, Questions Remain. European Union Backs Russian President"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin scored a "breakthrough" at the talks in Brussels, signing a declaration of partnership with the EC. All talk about "mutual pressure" and "mutual concessions" is inane: Being a declaration, it commits no one to anything. Therefore it is hard to imagine that it is on the basis of this declaration, for example, that the EC should lift or lower its aluminum or textile export quotas that discriminate against Russia. Yet, when pressured by benefactors, the Russian delegation made specific concessions: the president promised to terminate his edict

curbing the activities of foreign banks in Russia, which pertains to five European banks six months from now.

Considering that none of the banks carries out operations covered by the edict and none of them is going to be ready for them in the next six months, the president has simply scrapped his newly passed edict at least in regard to these European banks. Obviously, when the need to declare partnership with America and Japan arises, it would be not be hard to find a further five banks in each country to which he can make fundamental concessions.

It is useful to note that the rules of operation for foreign banks laid down by the president's edict were or are operating in many countries with which the EC has quite partner-like relations. And for some reason, Mr. Delors lacks the determination to demand of them this sort of proof of their loyalty.

The more so because European partners have nothing they can show that would prove they deserve such loyalty from Russia. At any rate, no EC country has demonstrated the determination to let Russia into their own market. As it is before the elections, the presidential team seems to have been unable to ignore the Russian commercial banks' solidarity, which the team needed. Now it is unable to meet halfway our European "partners," whom we would need after the elections.

An unsophisticated observer may get the impression that the Russian president has been cowed. A sophisticated observer, however, would see immediately that the president has again been misled.

Yeltsin Concession on Foreign Banks Viewed

PM1312111193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Vladimir Kuznechevskiy article under "On Results of Boris Yeltsin's Visit to Brussels" rubric: "One Russia and All of Europe"]

[Text] Can one state negotiate on equal terms with a whole group of 12 states—states, moreover, that enjoy a reputation as the most developed states in the region? The Russian president's visit to Brussels, which ended yesterday, shows that it can. As a result of the accords reached, the leadership of the European Union [EU] on the one hand and the president of the Russian Federation on the other will henceforth meet twice a year for mutual political and economic consultations.

This political nuance is interesting in many respects, particularly in that it contains the answer to the question of whether Russia remains a great power on the world scene or whether it has made itself a "banana" republic. (Talk of this kind has recently become fashionable in certain Moscow circles). It does [remain a great power]. What is more, the Russian president's talks with the EU and NATO leadership placed on record for the first time

that these organizations de facto and de jure regard Russia as a unique power, equating it only with the United States and Japan.

As is well known, a joint declaration on the principles of partnership and cooperation between the EU and Russia was signed during the talks. At the same time, a week ago it had also been proposed to sign a treaty on trade and cooperation between Russia and the EU. But this was not even examined 8 and 9 December. At a conference in Brussels three days before the start of the visit the EU countries' foreign ministers arrived at the conclusion that the signing of this treaty should be deferred. The Western press names as one of the reasons Boris Yeltsin's edict restricting the opportunities for foreign banks' operations in Russia for two years.

This edict really is of a protectionist nature with regard to the Russian banking system, which is only just finding its feet. It should, however, be recognized that it is still in a condition in which state protection is simply essential to it. Even such an active "marketeer" as Boris Fedorov agreed with this measure. And yet I believe that this edict of Yeltsin's is just an excuse. The reason is hidden far deeper, in the EU itself.

The EC only recently united in a union. The leadership of the 12 countries was at once faced with a mountain of problems which are very complex to resolve. I will name just one of them. The 10 December EU summit session examined an ambitious plan to halve unemployment by the year 2000. The EU countries' leadership would very much like to implement this measure, for it is necessary to show the people that the leadership was right to urge them to vote to approve the Maastricht agreements. It is hardly possible, however, to implement such a plan today. This was shown by the debate at the 10 December EU session. Some people proposed increasing indirect taxation for this purpose (which the population will hardly like), others proposed reducing the work week, etc. What about creating a free trade zone between Russia and the EU under these conditions? But in that case Russia will start dragging into the West not only raw materials and fuel but also other commodities. How will that affect the labor market in West Europe? The EU leadership does not wish to run a risk under such conditions, and so it proposed starting talks on a free trade zone between Russia and the EU only in five years' time, in 1998.

In that case, however, it was important to make a hole in the wall which for decades divided Russia and West Europe. The Russian president succeeded in doing this by signing the declaration of principles. Although he did have to make some compromises. In particular, Boris Yeltsin made it clear that his edict restricting the activity of foreign banks in Russia might be repealed sooner than two years' time.

Shokhin Calls Agreement 'Historic'*LD1012185893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1601 GMT 10 Dec 93**[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Belichko]*

[Text] Moscow, 10 Dec—Speaking at a meeting with journalists today, Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin said the signing in Brussels of a joint political declaration on partnership and cooperation between Russia and the European Union [EU] was "an historic event".

It will be recalled that Russia and the EU reached accords on the main principles of political, trade, economic, and also cultural cooperation. Both sides have recognized that Russia is henceforth a country not with a state system of trade but one with the economy of a transitional period. The future agreement on partnership and cooperation between Russia and the EU makes provision for improving access to markets on the basis of the principle of most favored nation treatment laid down by the GATT provisions. It also contains important new provisions connected with the liberalization of trade and the establishment of more stable and predictable trading conditions.

According to Shokhin, the declaration means not only a breakthrough in mutual relations between Russia and the EU, but it also forms the basis for "large-scale relations with influential international organizations, such as GATT and others". He added that the main provisions for the large-scale agreement being prepared between Russia and the EU on partnership and cooperation were recorded in the declaration. To all appearances, the document will be signed no later than mid-1994. This will then be followed by the procedure for its ratification by all participating countries in the agreement.

Shokhin told journalists that a wide range of questions were discussed during the course of the Russian president's meeting with heads of state and government of EU countries, including mutual relations between the Russian Federation and international financial organizations. At the same time, he noted, the question of nuclear commodities was touched on. "The sides decided not to mention this issue in the text of the agreement," he said. "It appear that a separate document will be signed on it." The deputy prime minister said he was certain that henceforth there would be no more discriminatory restrictions for Russia.

Grachev on Talks With Woerner*PM1012160393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Dec 93 p 1*

[Report by Vladimir Kuzar: "Russia Returns to Europe"]

[Excerpts] Brussels—During the long years of the cold war and bitter confrontation, an "iron curtain" separated the East from the West. Confrontation between the bloc structures, the "Berlin wall," and discriminatory

trade restrictions imposed by the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls and the Common Market placed our country outside Europe, contrary to geographical indications.

That was then. It could not last. Today, during the Russian Federation president's visit to Brussels, the whole world has witnessed Russia's return to Europe. [passage omitted]

The morning of 9 December began with a working breakfast with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner at which the positions of Russia and the North Atlantic Alliance on strengthening cooperation, plans for the expansion of NATO, and the U.S. "partnership for peace" program were briefly set out.

Russian Federation Defense Minister Army General Pavel Grachev attended the breakfast.

Answering your KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent's question about the content of the conversation at the breakfast, the minister noted that attention was focused on how to deepen collaboration and relations between Russia and NATO. The Russian Federation president confirmed Russia's willingness to develop cooperation with NATO at the political and military levels.

Army General Grachev also said that he had met with General George Joulwan, supreme allied commander Europe. It was a fact-finding meeting during which the sides decided to continue the course that had been mapped out with General John Shalikashvili a year ago. The schedule of contacts in 1993 has been carried out in full and proposals are now being elaborated for next year. [passage omitted]

Grachev Comments on Talks*PM1312112593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 2*

[Vladimir Kuzar report: "Dialogue, Partnership, Cooperation"]

[Text] The words which make up the headline were key words during the Russian Federation president's visit to Brussels. They were heard repeatedly during Boris Yeltsin's talks with the Belgian leaders, the heads of state and government of the European Union [EU] member countries, and the leaders of this union. Diverse variations on these words were also recorded in the official documents signed in the Belgian capital during these days. This is understandable, for they express the very essence of the new relations taking shape between Russia and the Europe of "the Twelve."

In this respect, 9 December was particularly significant. In my previous report I spoke of the Russian leader's meeting with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner. Here I would like to cite two statements by Woerner which, in my view, are of fundamental significance. "NATO," he emphasized, "will adopt decisions with due regard for Russia's interests." And again:

"NATO regards Russia as a friendly state." Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian Federation minister of defense, who is a member of the Russian delegation, particularly drew my attention to these statements.

The minister said that questions of NATO's relations with East European countries occupied a significant place during the talks. The U.S. "Partnership for Peace" initiative was also discussed. It provides for NATO contacts with other countries, but this does not mean, Pavel Grachev remarked, that all who wish to become members of the North Atlantic Alliance will do so. The Russian side was understanding of the U.S. concept but reaffirmed that it "does not particularly seek the East European states' entry into NATO." But Woerner, according to the Russian minister of defense, in turn said that NATO does not intend to place the question of the East European states' possible admission on a practical footing in the immediate future.

Pavel Grachev pointed out that questions of the nuclear weapons in Ukraine were also broached on the Russian side's initiative. President Yeltsin emphasized, the minister said, that the Russian side is alarmed at Ukraine's stand on this question. Russia is now tackling virtually alone the problems of ensuring Ukraine's nuclear security, while the other nuclear states and NATO are avoiding involvement in resolving this question. M. Woerner promised in return that he will "make the necessary efforts to activate this process."

I will remark, incidentally, that our minister of defense had a very intensive program here. In addition to participating in official events together with other members of the Russian delegation, he met with Leo Delcroix, Belgian minister of national defense, and visited a Belgian army communications center.

The culmination of the second day of Boris Yeltsin's visit to Brussels was undoubtedly the signing of the Joint Political Declaration on Cooperation Between Russia and the EU. Its adoption marks a starting point for developing relations of a new type between our country and the EU. Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin, EU Council Chairman Jean-Luc Dehaene, and EC Commission President Jacques Delors signed this document.

The declaration outlines the main areas of future political dialogue and of trade, economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation between Russia and the EU. The document emphasizes that a political dialogue and a system of regular consultations at various levels, including the highest level, which will make it possible to discuss the entire range of problems of mutual interest will be established for the first time.

It is important that the declaration expresses the sides' desire to develop cooperation in a very wide range of spheres, including business and investment activity, conversion of defense enterprises, science and technology, education and training, power generation, transport, and

telecommunications, culture, and tourism. The idea of creating a free trade zone between the EU and Russia is advanced as a prospect.

One more point. The declaration states: "The EU emphasizes its resolve to support the policy of reforms now being implemented in Russia." Is there any need to say how important this statement is for us, particularly on the threshold of the referendum on the Constitution and the elections to parliament?

Evaluating the declaration, President Boris Yeltsin particularly emphasized: "At last Russia has started rapprochement with Europe. Therefore the document signed today answers the question of how we are to live on this large continent called Europe. I am convinced that Russia as a whole and the Europeans have benefited from this."

After signing the declaration, the Russian leader had meetings with John Major and the leaders of a number of other EU countries.

The official visit to the Belgian capital is over. The Russian delegation has returned home.

Further Grachev Comment

LD1012071893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0700 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] Russia's new constitution gives the Russian Armed Forces the guarantee of a decent life and of acting correctly no matter what the situation. Defense Minister Pavel Grachev said in an exclusive interview with RIA while accompanying President Boris Yeltsin on his visit to Brussels. Pavel Grachev voiced the hope that a majority of Russians would vote for the new constitution.

Foreign Policy Gives Priority to Human Rights

LD1112102493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0931 GMT 11 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Sitnikov]

[Text] United Nations Organisation December 11 TASS—Human rights are beginning to get priority attention in Russia's relations with other countries. Sergey Ordzhonikidze, deputy representative of the Russian Federation at the U.N., said on Friday, addressing the General Assembly. His report was devoted to the 45th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

"We, representatives of all the U.N. member states, got together in this hall today in order to celebrate the 45th anniversary of the history-making event—the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the U.N. General Assembly on December 10, 1948.

Together with international pacts on human rights, the declaration laid the foundation of a universal integrated system of the protection of human rights, whose formation became one of the most vivid accomplishments of the world community over the past several decades. Some 50 multilateral human rights agreements were concluded on the basis of the universal declaration. Its provisions are reflected in constitutions of many countries, including in the draft of the new Russian Constitution," Ordzhonikidze said.

"Now problems dealing with human rights are being given priority attention in our relations with other countries, including our closest neighbours, where we are especially concerned over the future of our compatriots and the observance of the rights of national minorities."

The Russian representative stressed the universal character of the declaration and pointed out that "we cannot agree with those who are trying to explain deviations from the generally accepted human rights standards of human rights by references to some historic, political, religious or other factors." He warned against "the drawing up of special conceptual frameworks in the sphere of human rights for individual regions or groups of countries."

U.S. Policy, 'Political Model' Viewed

PM1312110193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Dec 93 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Vladimir Nadein report: "U.S. Politicians' Fate Hinging on Russian Election Results"]

[Text] Washington—The outcome of the parliamentary elections in Russia will affect for some time to come not only Russian-U.S. relations (which is natural), not only the development of events in Europe, not only NATO's evolution, but also the correlation of political forces within the United States itself.

Critics of the Clinton administration are, of course, right to admonish the President and Strobe Talbott, the secretary of state's special adviser for the newly independent states, for a number of things which U.S. diplomats traditionally consider at best vices and at worst mistakes.

The U.S. political model is made up of innumerable balances, counterweights, and checks. Americans have long considered it impermissible to make their national interests dependent on the fate of individual personalities or individual politicians, however remarkable they may be.

By its attitude to Boris Yeltsin the administration has shown distinctly, if not blatantly, that it prefers an exception to this rule. And this has been seen not only at times of crisis, when Yeltsin has invariably received the West's unconditional support. The fact that Thomas Pickering, the U.S. ambassador in Moscow, never once in the space of a year visited either Aleksandr Rutskoy or Ruslan Khasbulatov was not only a show of loyalty to

one trend in Russia, but also an indication of White House firmness once it has made a decision.

But all too many aspects of Russian life—the shelling of parliament, the banning of parties, the censoring of newspapers, the failure to keep to the timetable for withdrawing troops from the Baltic, and the Russian military's support for one side in their newly independent neighbors' civil wars—are not welcomed by U.S. public opinion.

And, correspondingly, this serves as a springboard for opposition attacks on the administration.

Although there are three years to go until the next presidential election in the United States, quiet but intensive work is under way at both parties' political headquarters. The current administration's Russian policy remains virtually the only area in which the administration is boldly—clearly contrary to the rules—receiving bipartisan support.

This cannot last long. A party does not dare go into an election with a program supported by the rival party.

Some Republicans believe that they should seize the initiative from the administration and propose a model for closer comprehensive cooperation with Russia. For instance, researchers grouped around former President Richard Nixon are insisting that Russia's special national interests in its immediate neighbor countries and Central Europe be taken more into account.

Another influential section of Republicans, who are in their hearts still afraid about the aggressive Soviet empire, see the solution as being to slow or block the processes of disarmament and military cooperation, keeping to approximately the following formula when it comes to the former USSR—"better new chaos than a new empire."

But both groups are entirely agreed that Clinton himself and Strobe Talbott, the main manager of his ex-Soviet policy, should sooner or later ward off all attacks on the canons of a balanced and dispassionate approach to the question of the United States' supreme national interests.

Hundreds of observers have now arrived in Russia from all over the world. One political institute of the U.S. Republican Party alone has sent more than 60 experienced and young politicians who will be found in many cities on Sunday—from Moscow to the Arctic Circle.

Any deviation from democratic procedures during the elections will be fully exploited by the opposition to attack the administration's Russian policy.

And, conversely, a victory for the reformers in an honest poll will considerably strengthen those circles in the United States who are prepared to continue supporting Yeltsin, but, like their opponents, prefer to act according to the rules. Presumably President Clinton will come to

Moscow with a program corrected and amended to take account of the results of these parliamentary elections.

The elections to the Russian parliament are awaited in America with hope, suspicion, enthusiasm, and concern. The spread of sentiments depends on where people stand in the political spectrum. But the one thing entirely lacking when it comes to the political elite is indifference. When the fate of a country such as Russia is being decided, America tries not to keep CNN turned off for too long.

Valentin Zorin on Disillusionment With U.S. Aid

LD1112213593 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] And now here is a view from Valentin Zorin. On Sunday, 12 December, there are parliamentary elections and a constitutional referendum in Russia. The Russian election race has spotlighted a phenomenon, the discussion of which presents special interest for people in the United States. Foreign policy problems, including Russian-U.S. relations, have failed to dominate pre-election debate, which is significant if only because several years ago the Russians assigned a special importance to problems of war and peace and relations between their country and the United States.

An explanation of the dramatic change in public interest seems to be lying on the surface. Russia's domestic problems are much too pressing to allow room for foreign policy discussions. There is no doubt of that, but there are more aspects to the problem. Now what are they? I will try to offer my own explanation of what is happening, says Valentin Zorin. In my view the decline of public interest in Russian-U.S. relations is in good measure a result of disillusionment in Washington's politics. Hope may be OK for a start, but in a while more tangible things will be required. The time has largely gone of hope for U.S. support of the reforms and democracy in Russia. Generous but unfulfilled promises tend to produce disillusionment. Over the past few years Washington has been lavishly handing out pledges to help the Russian reform. It would be wrong to say it has failed to fulfill everything it has pledged. New political relations between Moscow and Washington are real and not to be doubted, but, unlike politicians, rank-and-file voters are more sensitive to the standard of living brought about by the changes in international politics rather than to political declarations, and reality has failed to confirm their expectations. For at least three full years the Russians have been told Washington is about to spend many billions of dollars to revive their economy. They have been told about loans to their country, but even more about capital investment and the removal of the whole system of cold war barriers to bilateral trade. The Russian voters have come to realize their hope has largely been frustrated and U.S. aid translates into verbal declarations or, at best, legislation whose effect is yet to be felt. As a natural consequence of

this they are feeling disillusioned and, even worse, suspicious of new declarations by U.S. leaders.

An analysis of pre-election debate shows that it is primarily opponents of the economic and democratic reform who raise the problem of Russian-U.S. relations. In attacks on President Yeltsin's strategies they have been quick in accusing the Russian leader of an excess of trust in what Washington says and of unreasonable concessions to the United States. The elections will put no end to political fight between the supporters and opponents of the reforms in Russia, and the future course of relations between Russia and the United States will depend on whether the processes, whose outcome leaves indifferent neither Russia nor the United States, will be successful or not. That was a view from Valentin Zorin.

Lukin on Russia's Influence Abroad

OW1012233693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1955 GMT 5 Dec 93

[Studio interview with Vladimir Petrovich Lukin, Russian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the United States, by Sergey Lomakin; from the "Utro" program—live]

[Text] [Lomakin] I am very happy to present to you, dear television viewers, Vladimir Petrovich Lukin, Russian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the United States. He is presently on vacation so we have an opportunity to talk to him about our foreign relations.

[Lukin] Good morning.

[Lomakin] On the one hand you were and have remained a politician. On the other you are an ambassador who is obliged to pursue the official line of the Russian Government. Tell us, what satisfies you and what does not satisfy you in Russia's relations with other states?

[Lukin] Well, it is gratifying that Russia today really does not have any obvious enemies, that there are no situations today which may require us to solve some problems of our security immediately, this very instant, or someone will invade us. We do not have problems of this kind now and this is very good. It is an achievement of previous years, including the eighties, and so forth.

On the other hand what else can be gratifying? Our domestic problems are reflected in our international status and of course our influence in the world is no longer the same. We have stopped being some kind of military monster or threat to some. On the other hand I would like us to have more levers of influence in the world. Presently there is a general trend in the world toward nonmilitary levers of influence. They have a bigger future. There must always be a military NZ [emergency reserve], but the basic levers are the nonmilitary ones—economic levers and cultural levers. Take the United States. Its influence does not come simply

from its atomic bombs—in fact this influence is decreasing—but from its McDonalds, its mass culture, and so forth. This is a very important factor. After all, many people in Europe, and in Asia as well, follow the American style of living.

[Lomakin] I agree with you Vladimir Petrovich, but....

[Lukin, interrupting] We need this, too.

[Lomakin] Now here is another twist. After all, speaking objectively, we can hardly have any serious influence on processes in the world in purely economic terms, but....

[Lukin, interrupting] Not on the far abroad, but we can influence the near abroad.

[Lomakin] But there have been examples when raw materials states have had a very serious influence on the economic situation of a country. We now belong to those countries which have raw materials, since we have oil, gas, and other raw materials. What do you think? How actively can this lever be used?

[Lukin] It can be used, but we need large investments for this. You know that our oil industry is on the decline, since there is no investment into its technology, there is no investment into transportation or processing systems. This is the main problem. Presently we have a relative excess of oil production at the same time as there is a decline in its overall output. There is a relative excess because prices have gone up and domestic purchases have dropped. We are giving less to the near abroad because they have nothing to pay for it with. Yet this is a commercial business. And we have problems with long distance transportation. So our opportunities are limited. We can increase them rapidly, but to do this we need domestic investments and, since we do not have enough, foreign investments. This is the reason for the talks that are being held.

It is a mistake to say that the Americans or various Europeans should not be involved. It is bad when our money goes there instead of being invested here. It is good when their money comes here, if this happens under normal conditions. But due to our domestic problems it is not coming, that is what is bad.

[Lomakin] Another very important question, in my opinion, Vladimir Petrovich. What is your position on the problem of ethnic Russians who find themselves in the near abroad countries? After all there are 20 million people who in one way or another will eventually move to Russia, at least the majority of them will.

[Lukin] Well, the scenarios can be quite varied. Of course the best scenario is not one of chance but of choice, a choice between various possibilities. In particular, they could adapt. But not adapt with a knife to their throat—learn the language in three months or you are not human. This should not happen. It does not exist in the United States and it does not happen in any civilized country.

They should be given a choice, and if they do not want to adapt and choose to move to Russia, this must be substantiated in some way, both in economic terms and within some time framework. This would give them time to choose where and how to go. This should not be a mass exodus or it will become a stampede which will be a catastrophe both for us and those countries, because they occupy very important niches in their industries. So this must not be permitted. To this end they need to have equal rights. Now we can use our additional possibilities to convince these countries.

[Lomakin] Exactly what possibilities do we have?

[Lukin] First of all, economic possibilities, the entire range of economic and political influence, because politics does not only mean persuasion, it also means pressure levers. They should be consistent. They should not be of the sort where we bang the table with our fist today and make a lot of excess noise while tomorrow we forget all about this and proceed as if the problem did not exist. It should all be consistent. It should not be a show of force followed by us forgetting and withdrawing our forces, and so forth.

A very precise and strict system of measures must be determined and they should be implemented until we achieve results. And in the given case, this is possible. When I talk about a strict set of measures it is not because I like doing this but because nobody listens to reason. The Europeans and many human rights organizations have already told them that they cannot behave in this way. They cannot behave in this way with Russia or with the people who have found themselves in their countries. They are not to blame for the fact that Russia has found itself in this position and they have ended up living on the wrong side of the border. It is not their fault and they cannot be treated as second class people.

[Lomakin] Thank you, Vladimir Petrovich. Unfortunately we do not have enough time, for I have a million questions to ask you. Well, we simply do not always have the opportunity to sit down and talk longer on these information programs.

[Lukin] Well, everything begins from the first step, and I will come back if you invite me.

[Lomakin] Of course. Thank you very much. I think the problem we ended our discussion with is one of the most important issues and a priority in our foreign policy.

[Lukin] I think that it is the most important issue.

[Lukin] Thank you, Vladimir Petrovich. I would like to introduce my guest to you once again, although this is probably unnecessary. He is Vladimir Petrovich Lukin, Russian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the United States. Thank you.

[Lukin] Thank you and goodbye.

Volkogonov Reports Progress in Tracing U.S. MIA's

PM1012142493 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 93 p 7

[Denis Baranets report: "Evidence Will Surface"]

[Text] Rumors about an incalculable number of American citizens who disappeared during the war on former USSR territory are, it seems, being dispelled. The credit for this must go to the Russian-American Commission for the Search for Missing Persons. One of its cochairmen is Dmitriy Volkogonov, adviser to the Russian Federation president.

"We have managed to collect and communicate to the United States information on over 20,000 American citizens who were repatriated from German concentration camps," he recounts. "Just a very small portion of them ended up on Union territory during the last war for various reasons. Likewise, almost all information on their fate has been collected and passed on to the American side. In the course of their searches, the joint commission members have visited Khabarovsk, Vladivostok, Armenia, the Kuril Islands, and Pechora. Now we intend to head for Kolyma. The fact is that the relatives of some of the American servicemen remain convinced that their nearest and dearest are allegedly 'concealed' there in psychiatric hospitals. In fact, we have checked over 10,000 hospital registers and no scandals have been uncovered."

The president's adviser reported that the Americans too are by no means just sitting back with arms folded. They have managed to raise from the watery depths of the Pacific Ocean part of a crippled Soviet submarine with the remains of six crew members on board, whose identities have now been established. According to the information available, a further 92 submariners previously listed as lost without trace still lie in the submarine.

Vasiliy Ivanovich Sayko also addressed the press conference which was held. In the early 1950's he served on the Far East border and witnessed how the valiant Stalinist aces shot down an American reconnaissance aircraft. One of its pilots crashed into the water, his parachute unopened. When conveying the body of the dead American onto dry land for burial, Vasiliy Ivanovich accidentally discovered among his personal belongings the pilot's licence of one Robert Donkhem [name as transliterated], which he secretly decided to keep as a memento. Sayko brought this licence to Moscow a few days ago and gave it to the Americans.

In a conversation with me about the fate of those Soviet and American servicemen who disappeared without trace, Russian Federation Presidential Adviser D. Volkogonov cited the following data: During the war in Korea, approximately 1,300 American aircraft were shot down. It is hard to believe. Unfortunately, information on the personnel and technical losses among the Soviet

military contingent which fought there remains classified to this day. Many Russians and Americans lost their lives on Korean soil.

Appeal on Ukrainian Nuclear Arms Circulated in U.S.

LD1012133493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0930 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] The Russian embassy in the United States has circulated an appeal from eminent Russian designers, scientists, and specialists to citizens and governments of countries throughout the world. The impermissible situation relating to nuclear weapons in Ukraine is pointed out in the open letter.

Recent checks on the state of nuclear weapons located on the territory of Ukraine have exposed a number of serious violations.

Grachev Expects NATO Help on Ukrainian Nuclear Issue

LD1112182293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1729 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] The defense ministers of nuclear powers may hold a symposium in Moscow at the end of December, at the suggestion of Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev.

Grachev told Interfax he had made the suggestion to NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner. There was a need for such a symposium in view of the interest Russia's new military doctrine caused in the world, the Russian minister said. He said the doctrine made serious changes in relations among the world's nuclear nations and increased the world community's concern over Ukraine's position on the nuclear weapons stationed on its territory.

Grachev said the Ukrainian parliament's ratification of the START I treaty was "effectively no ratification," since the legislature refused to ratify numerous points in the document.

This made the matter too serious to be made the responsibility of Russia alone, he said. Other nations still took an "elusive" stance on the problem, but NATO was able to help them pool their efforts to influence Ukraine's policy, the minister said.

He said he was sure that, following Russian President Boris Yeltsin's meeting with Woerner in Brussels, NATO was ready to take steps to that end. It became clear that NATO sought closer contacts with Russia, Grachev said. He said the organization's top leaders regarded today's Russia as a friendly nation. Russia, for its part, approved of the fact that cooperation for the sake of peace was being actively discussed at NATO. This should have a serious effect on the policy of all nuclear states, the minister said.

He said he expected a program for next year's bilateral cooperation between Russia and NATO proposed by Yeltsin to considerably strengthen global peace. Work on it would shortly be started by experts and would be monitored by the Russian president and NATO Secretary General.

Gasprom Official on Reduced Gas Deliveries to Ukraine

LD1012214593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1721 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] It's not because of reduced Russian gas delivery to Ukraine that the republic has launched its strict fuel economy drive, an official from Russia's joint-stock company Gasprom has told INTERFAX.

In his words, Gasprom has been shipping gas to Ukraine above the planned targets, and the Ukrainian leadership "is grateful to us for that." He blamed the energy rationing on the shortage of coal, fuel oil, and electricity rather than on the deficit of gas.

Although Russia is committed to the daily supply of 99 Mn [million] cubic meters of gas to Ukraine, it has been exporting gas to the republic at the rate of 110 Mn cubic meters a day. Besides, Turkmenistan has boosted gas delivery to Ukraine after a long pause.

"We have to export gas to Ukraine above planned targets," the official said, "since otherwise Ukrainian consumers will take for themselves part of Russian gas, transported to Europe through its territory. At present, gas pressure in the pipe lines along the border between Ukraine and Slovakia is still lower than projected pressure."

The last time Russia slashed gas supplies to Ukraine was in late August. It did so because of the debt, estimated at 630 Bn [billion] rubles at the time. Since then this debt has risen to over 1 Tn [trillion] Rubles. "We are sure," the official said, "that we won't get this money back."

When Gasprom's Chairman Ram Vyakhirev faced the press in Nadyim recently, he declared that prospectively, a reduction in the supply of gas to CIS states "is not always lucrative for Russia's economy."

As Ukraine is going through a dire energy crisis, it has slashed by 25-30 percent the delivery of gas to republican industries, shut day-time telecasts, and disconnected electricity supply to residential areas on a selective basis.

300 Tonnes of Uranium From Kyrgyzstan Discovered

LD1212041793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0300 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] The departure of the "Kompozitor Mussorgskiy" motor ship from the port of Kaliningrad has been delayed. Around 300 tonnes of unenriched uranium had been discovered on board. The cargo was in transit from Kyrgyzstan to a company in England.

Reaction to Death Sentences in Moldova

Sentence May Block Settlement

LD1012202593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1512 GMT 10 Dec 93

[By diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboinikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] If the death sentence passed on the leader of the local branch of Moldova's Christian Democratic Front, Ilie Ilascu, in Tiraspol on Thursday is carried out, it may "indefinitely block" the process of settlement in Transdnistria. This statement was made on Friday in an interview with Interfax by a senior Russian diplomat dealing with Moldovan problems.

As we already reported, on Thursday the Tiraspol judiciary passed sentences on the people charged with committing terrorist acts in the summer of last year during the armed conflict in Transdnistria. Ilascu himself was sentenced to death by a firing squad, and his associates to long terms in prison.

Russia's President Boris Yeltsin has urged the Transdnistrian leaders to display clemency toward the defendants, Interfax's interviewee said. In unofficial talks with the Transdnistrian authorities Russian envoys also discussed more than once the possibility of transferring Ilascu and his associates to Moldova's judiciary. "Yesterday this request was made by Nikolay Medvedev, the Russian president's special envoy for settling the conflict in Transdnistria," he said.

According to the diplomat, the authorities of the self-proclaimed Republic of Transdnistria have been approached with this request also by U.S. officials, by a CSCE mission, and by different international organizations. "These appeals have yielded no tangible results so far," he said.

Nevertheless, the Russian diplomat said, Moscow "continues to hope that the Transdnistrian authorities will revise their stance." "They can hardly afford to ignore the Russian president's appeal. It's unprofitable for them from any point of view," he said.

Yeltsin Appeals for Mercy

LD1112202693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1808 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 11 TASS—"In connection with the announcement of the verdict on the Ilascu group by the Tiraspol (Supreme) Court, we would like to recall one more time that President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation has appealed to the authorities of the Dniester region to show mercy for these people. On December 9, 1993, before the verdict was brought, his

special representative Nikolay P. Medvedev made a statement confirming the president's position," a Russian Foreign Ministry official said in a statement on Saturday.

"At present, representatives of the Foreign Ministry and other agencies of the Russian Federation are taking active steps to reach a satisfactory solution to this issue. We are proceeding from the fact that none of the sides will undertake any activities which would further compound the already complicated situation and, respectively, the search for the political settlement of the Dniester conflict.

"One cannot ignore the fact that this incident is being used by certain circles in the Republic of Moldova and Romania for attempts to step up anti-Russian sentiments. These are futile and unreasonable activities.

"The official authorities of these states have been requested—and provided—assurances that they are taking all necessary measures to ensure the safety of Russian diplomatic representations and their staff," the statement said.

Russia To Demand Extradition

LD1212183793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1648 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] Russia is going to demand from Tiraspol the extradition of the leader of the local section of the Christian-Democratic Front of Moldova Ilie Ilascu to the law enforcement organs of Moldova, the representative of the Russian president's staff Nikolay Medvedev told Interfax. He is the personal representative of the Russian president in the negotiations between Transnistria and Moldova. In the nearest future he is going to communicate with the Transnistria authorities as regards the "Ilascu's case". As reported by Interfax earlier the people accused in the terrorist and subversive activities during the military conflict in Transnistria in summer of last year were sentenced in Tiraspol on December 9. Mr. Ilascu was sentenced to the capital punishment. The rest were sentenced to different prison terms.

Romanian Ambassador Summoned

LD1112150993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1335 GMT 11 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Dec—In the past few days the situation around the Russian embassy in Bucharest has deteriorated sharply. Numerous demonstrations are taking place there and threats are being heard. The Romanian mass media are full of materials of an openly anti-Russian thrust. All this is creating a threat to the representatives of Russia and to members of their families.

Grigoriy Karasin, head of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry Information and Press Department, has informed ITAR-TASS that the Romanian ambassador was invited to the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry today where representations were made to him. It was emphasized that Moscow expects urgent and effective measures to ensure the safety of Russian representatives and citizens.

Russia's Foreign Ministry is in constant touch with the embassy in Bucharest, and is closely following the development of the situation.

Romania To Ensure Safety of Russian Embassy

LD1212125593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1208 GMT 12 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Morozov]

[Text] Bucharest, 12 Dec—The Romanian side has taken measures to ensure the safety of the Russian Embassy and its employees, says an official document circulated today by the Romanian Foreign Ministry.

The document says, in part, that after the Tiraspol court announced its verdict on the case of the "Ilascu group," numerous rallies of solidarity have been held in Romania. Demonstrations, spontaneous or organized by public organizations, have been held in the Romanian capital, near the Russian Embassy. The authorities have taken urgent measures to ensure the safety of the embassy and its employees, and have placed additional law enforcement forces in the area, the Romanian foreign policy department statement stresses.

The Romanian Foreign Ministry is constantly in touch on the matter with the Russian Embassy, with competent bodies, and with the Romanian Embassy in Moscow.

Envoy Warns Russians Against Traveling to Algeria

PM1312111593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Aleksey Portanskiy: "Terrorists' Threats Force Our Citizens To Leave Algeria"]

[Excerpts] "If it pleases Allah all foreigners, Russians and French, will be slaughtered like sheep." This unsigned message was recently mailed to the Russian trade mission in Algiers. [passage omitted]

It was 30 years ago that the first head of independent Algeria, Ahmed Ben Bella, stood on the rostrum of the Mausoleum in Moscow next to Nikita Khrushchev during a military parade. There then began extensive economic and political cooperation between the two countries. Today the Russians for the first time in recent years have been obliged to leave Algeria fearing for their lives. However, the official authorities of the Algerian People's Democratic Republic [APDR] are not to blame for that.

IZVESTIYA liaised by telephone with Aleksandr Aksenko, Russian ambassador to the APDR:

"I have decided on the partial departure of the members of the families of the staffers of Russian institutions in the country. The decision affects those who are working in the cities of Algiers and Annaba. I should like to hope that the present situation will force the leadership of our foreign economic organizations with specialists in Algeria to take more vigorous steps. In general I believe it is essential to warn that today no one should travel to Algeria without a special need to do so. All three Russian schools in the APDR will be temporarily closed."

As for the investigation of the murder of the two Russian officers, our ambassador was told at the Algerian Foreign Ministry that so far there are only suspects and the investigation is continuing.

It may be considered that our men were killed by the local so-called "Afghans"—young Algerian Islamicists who have undergone combat training in the ranks of the Mojahedin in Afghanistan. A group of population centers consisting of four villages not far from the capital is already being called Peshawar by analogy with the hotbed of the Mojahedin's resistance on Pakistani territory.

The reason for the constant violence in the country lies in the annulment of the first free parliamentary elections two years ago at which victory was in fact ensured for the Islamic Salvation Front Party. In June last year Head of State M. Boudiaf was shot dead and in August this year it was the turn of Prime Minister K. Merbah. The authorities have still not succeeded in breaking the wave of Islamic terrorism in the country.

Discussions Conducted With DPRK on Fisheries Agreement

LD1312032593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0150 GMT 13 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Nadashkevich]

[Text] Pyongyang December 13 TASS—Russia and North Korea are currently discussing prospects of cooperation in fishing on the eve of a meeting of a corresponding joint commission in Vladivostok.

North Korea is satisfied with the cooperation with Russia and wants to further increase it, according to Vladimir Yurko, a representative of the Russian fishing committee.

"The Korean side wants to discuss the issue of preserving the fishing quota, about the creation of joint ventures and services in the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and to propose a new direction in cooperation—to begin interacting outside the Pacific ocean—in the Caspian and North Sea basins and to begin breeding sturgeon in their country", he told TASS before leaving for Vladivostok.

North Korean fishing quota in Russian territorial waters comprises some 60,000 tonnes of fish, mostly Alaska pollack, cod and squid.

Russian quota in North Korean waters comprises 30,000 tonnes of herring which it is still incapable of hauling.

Russia has supplied its equipment and technologies for fish processing in the North Korean city of Simpko. North Korea repairs Russian vessels. The two countries cooperate in protection of marine resources, in exchange of information on the state of the resources on the eastern and western coasts of North Korea.

'Technical Reasons' Delay Envoy's Departure for South Korea

MK1012135093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 10 Dec 93 p 3

[INTERFAX report in the "Lobbies" column: "Kunadze Will Not Be Going to Seoul for the Time Being. The Question About His Successor Remains Open"]

[Text] Informed sources in the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs have revealed that the departure for South Korea of Russia's newly appointed ambassador Georgiy Kunadze has been postponed. Apparently he will not reach his new destination until next spring.

Georgiy Kunadze is still Russian Federation deputy foreign minister, in charge of relations with Japan and the Pacific Rim countries. "The Russian Federation president's edict on appointing Georgiy Kunadze ambassador to Seoul has been issued but there is no order dismissing him from his post as deputy minister," the source pointed out. According to him, the delay over Mr. Kunadze's departure is caused by "primarily technical reasons." "Obviously the 'Japanese direction' in the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry may not be left without an overseer with the rank of deputy minister. Yet no successor to Kunadze has been appointed."

According to the diplomat, in all likelihood, this will be Aleksandr Panov, who has recently returned to Moscow. Earlier, he headed the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry's Pacific Rim and Southeast Asian Countries Department and was also Russian ambassador to South Korea. Other candidacies are also being named, although their chances are not very great.

International Affairs

Supreme Council Chairman Plyushch Visits London

UK's Hogg Cited on START

LD1012180293 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] The Ukrainian Supreme Council delegation led by Ivan Plyushch continues its visit to London. Douglas Hogg, Great Britain's minister of state for foreign and Commonwealth affairs, gave a government dinner in honor of the Ukrainian parliamentarians. In a welcoming speech the minister of state said that Great Britain is proceeding in its foreign policy from the importance of the existence of an independent Ukraine as a democratic European state. He pointed out that Ukraine is maintaining its course toward attaining non-nuclear status in the future, and from that standpoint welcomed the ratification of the START treaty and the Lisbon protocol by our state's Supreme Council. Hogg viewed the parliamentary delegation's visit to London as a manifestation of the desire to develop British-Ukrainian interparliamentary contacts.

Supreme Council Chairman Plyushch thanked the minister of state for his objective assessment of the ratification of the START treaty and the Lisbon protocol and for the chance to become acquainted with the parliamentary practice of Great Britain. He emphasized the importance of the development of relations between the two countries' legislatures and the necessity to establish more in-depth business contacts needed by Ukraine to carry out market reforms.

The government dinner was attended by members of both houses of Parliament of Great Britain and by Sergey Komissarenko, Ukraine's ambassador to Great Britain.

Talks on Nuclear Weapons Held

LD1112111993 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2030 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] London—The visit of Ukrainian Supreme Council Chairman Ivan Plyushch to Great Britain, where he had a series of official meetings, ended on 10 December. The Ukrainian Supreme Council speaker reported in a conversation with representatives of the British mass media that the main subject of the meetings had been nuclear weapons in Ukraine. He expressed great satisfaction that the British side showed an understanding attitude to his explanations of Ukraine's position. According to Ivan Plyushch, accords were successfully reached regarding specific assistance in eliminating the aftermath of the disaster at the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station during a meeting at the British Nuclear Industry Forum, headed by Lord Michael Marshall. The Supreme Council chairman expressed the

conviction that his experience with the British Parliament would help him in his work. Ivan Plyushch also met the Ukrainian community in Great Britain.

Shmarov, U.S. Envoy Discuss START, Ties

LD1012204793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1556 GMT 10 Dec 93

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Alexey Petrunya]

[Text] Kiev December 10 TASS—Ukrainian Vice-Premier Valeriy Shmarov has received American Ambassador William Miller in Kiev today. In the course of the meeting the two sides discussed the problems of expanding Ukrainian-American cooperation in various spheres, in the first place in the economic field.

The talks focused on the problems of nuclear disarmament, the ratification of the START-I treaty by the Ukrainian parliament, and the denuclearization of Ukraine. Valeriy Shmarov explained Ukraine's position on this issue. Ukraine adheres to the course for the achievement of the nuclear free status. However, in the present situation this makes it necessary to fulfill a number of important conditions, first of all, to give reliable guarantees of security of Ukraine, render it technical and financial assistance for destroying missiles and for social guarantees to workers who will lose their jobs (according to experts' calculations, this may require up to 80 per cent of the total expenditure). These conditions will also include the compensation for the removed and destroyed rockets presenting a certain value in the creation of which Ukraine has made its contribution, too.

Technically, Ukraine is prepared to carry out denuclearization of the country, the vice premier stressed. However, for the implementation of this task it is necessary to fulfill all conditions determined by the Ukrainian parliament, he pointed out.

Official on World Reaction to START Decision

LD1012163093 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1330 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev—Kostyantyn Hryshchenko, head of the directorate for control over armament and disarmament of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, commented in an interview with a UNIAN correspondent on 9 December that the reaction of other states of the world to ratification of the START I Treaty is a lot more supportive [loyalnyy] than the Russian reaction: "According to information from Viktor Batyuk, Ukraine's permanent representative to the United Nations, the United States, Great Britain, and France did not support Russia's call to the UN Security Council to resort to severe actions regarding Ukraine. It is not only official sessions in Rome and Brussels but also the bilateral meetings of Anatoliy Zlenko with heads of diplomatic departments of Canada and many West

European countries that convince one of the generally restrained attitude of the world to our decision and of an understanding of Ukrainian problems. One should also note that not a single state has come out in favor of Ukraine acquiring nuclear status. The world sees us in the future only as a nonnuclear state."

Kravchuk, Envoys View Economic, Nuclear Issues

LD1012190993 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk met today with members of the diplomatic corps accredited in our state. There are now 50 official foreign representations working in Ukraine, which testifies to the fact that we are steadily and surely establishing ourselves in the world as a young independent state.

After extending greetings to the audience on the occasion of the human rights day being marked all over the planet today, the Ukrainian president briefed foreign diplomats on the political and economic situation in our state and the government's stance on further implementation of economic reform in Ukraine. In particular, Kravchuk observed that reforms were being implemented under the conditions of a deep crisis, a critical situation never encountered before. Therefore, any more or less noticeable breakthrough toward the stabilization of the economy will be rather difficult to achieve without the genuine assistance of foreign states.

The president asked the ambassadors accredited in Kiev to inform their governments about our main sources of hardship, which include lack of investments, the small number and poor efficiency of joint ventures, the not-too-favorable terms of credit agreements with regard to their issue and repayment, and a number of other serious problems.

Kravchuk then dwelt in detail on issues related to nuclear arms based on the territory of our state. He declared, in particular, that no matter how anyone interpreted Ukraine's stance, Ukraine was steadily advancing on the road toward nonnuclear status. Regarding the well-known resolution of the Supreme Council—which, incidentally, the president was displeased with—it did not renounce Ukraine's previous commitments nor did it mark any change in the course toward nuclear disarmament. Of course, the reservations contained in the resolution had good grounds; however, the world must regard the present situation as the first step toward the settlement of the issue, in which Ukraine also needs substantial aid—mainly financial.

Kravchuk answered questions from the floor. The meeting was attended by Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Minister Anatoliy Zlenko, Anton Buteyko, head of the Ukrainian president's service for international affairs, as well as responsible officials of Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Kravchuk on Middle East Ties, Other Issues

PM1012165093 London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 9 Dec 93 p 4

[Rashid Khashanah report: "Ukrainian President Tells AL-HAYAH: Egypt and Tunisia Are Two Bridges for Our Openness to the Arabs"]

[Excerpts] Tunis—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has told AL-HAYAH that his country considers the steps taken toward peace in the Middle East "positive and in line with peoples' right to self-determination."

In reply to questions put to him by AL-HAYAH on the occasion of his visit to Tunis which ended yesterday, he said that Ukraine "uses Cairo and Tunis as two bridges in its openness to the Arab east and the Arab Maghreb." He did not rule out the possibility of opening embassies for his country in other Arab capitals. [passage omitted]

He expressed satisfaction with "the initial steps we have seen taken toward a solution of the Middle East problem. They confirm our position on that issue. Ukraine has, in the context of its policy, taken numerous steps in defense of the Palestinian people and their legitimate rights within the framework of the United Nations. It supported and voted in favor of all the resolutions that underlined the call for the creation of a national entity for the Palestinian people. It reaffirmed that position on many occasions on the grounds that any people's request to have their own independent state is a legitimate right of that people."

He added that he was willing to meet with President Yasir 'Arafat at any time and had no objection to such a meeting. He said that previous "engagements prevented holding such a meeting in Tunis." He was referring to 'Arafat's visit to Germany yesterday and the day before yesterday. But he did confirm that arrangements might be made for a meeting on some other occasion which he did not specify. [passage omitted]

He said that he would try to persuade Ukraine's Supreme Council (parliament) to reconsider its conditions for the destruction of the nuclear weapons in Ukraine.

He added: "We hope that the international community will understand our position on this matter. There are conditions for moving forward on this road. They are provision of sufficient guarantees for our republic's security, compensation for the nuclear warheads and other weapons that would be destroyed, and provision of the necessary technical aid for the elimination of these weapons."

He said that "if these steps are fully implemented, I am certain that the Ukrainian Supreme Council would meet again to consider signing an agreement for the elimination of Ukraine's nuclear weapons."

He revealed that he agreed with U.S. President Clinton and Russian President Boris Yeltsin when he met with

them recently that "Ukraine would honor its international commitments and abide by the decisions of the Supreme Council (Ukrainian parliament) at the same time." [passage omitted]

He stressed that Ukraine "does not threaten anyone with its nuclear weapons and cannot do so for the simple reason that the button controlling the nuclear weapons is in Moscow, not in Kiev." [passage omitted]

Commentary Views Ties With Russia

AU1112160893 Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in
Ukrainian 7 Dec 93 p 1

[Commentary by Vitaliy Portnykov, MOLOD UKRAYINY special correspondent: "Why Are the Russians Annoyed?"]

[Text] The Russian Government's tough reaction to the recent decisions adopted by Ukraine's Supreme Council regarding the ratification of START I may, certainly, lead to a new crisis in bilateral relations and to a deterioration of the situation in the CIS. Well, why are the Russian politicians so annoyed? Without making comments here on the Ukrainian parliamentarians' sufficiently controversial decisions, let me remind you that precisely the theme of nuclear disarmament was Moscow's trump card at many rounds of Ukrainian-Russian negotiations. Precisely for the reason that the two sides failed to reach an agreement, their negotiations have again acquired an international significance. That this is not only a matter of nuclear weapons is attested to by the following telling fact. The "correct" position occupied by Belarus and Kazakhstan was always quoted as an example to be followed by Ukraine. However, the relations between Russia and Kazakhstan have deteriorated—and it turned out that not everything is right where Kazakhstan is concerned. At any rate, these two former Soviet republics—Ukraine and Kazakhstan—were referred to at a recent meeting of the board of the Russian Federation's Defense Ministry as such that have not, to this day, settled their "nuclear relations" with Russia. Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev, shocked by the Russian Government's refusal to deliver to his country new Russian rubles for exchange and compelled to urgently introduce the national currency, now holds Moscow responsible for ruining the system of collective responsibility for the former Soviet Union's nuclear weapons. In fact, such a system existed during the founding of the CIS, but the Russian Ministry of Defense did everything it could to put the nuclear weapons under its jurisdiction. It cannot be denied that this is not just a matter of Ukraine or Kazakhstan. The last defense minister of the USSR struggled for influence, then the chief commander of the CIS Joint Armed Forces Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov and Russia's first minister of defense General Pavel Grachev did the same. As we can see, the struggle ended in the general's victory, and particularly because of that, the Russian military lobby could not forgive Kiev its independent position.

For Moscow, the polemics with Ukraine is also a convenient argument in the Russian leadership's unexpected struggle against a possible expansion of NATO, which may be joined by central and eastern European countries. Last week, [Russian] External Intelligence chief Yevgeniy Primakov and adviser to Russian foreign minister Galina Sidorova gave to understand that Russia sees a threat to its own security in such an expansion without its participation. Consultations on this occasion are under way both in Moscow and in eastern European capitals. However, at the same time, as has become known from well-informed sources, Russian diplomats ask their eastern European colleagues to "influence" Ukraine in order to compel it to ratify START and the Lisbon Protocol without any reservations. In this way, a new image of Russia is being created—that of a guarantor of Eastern European security. At the same time, Russian diplomats, in anonymous talks, do not even conceal the fact that they consider the... West to be responsible for the Ukrainian decisions, the West, which is allegedly not keen on allowing Russia to get strong and play a special geopolitical role. Incidentally, an interview with such passages appeared on the pages of DIPLOMATICHESKAYA PANORAMA and INTERFAX Information Agency, known for its special relations with the [Russian] Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It can easily be assumed that it was not a minor clerk who made those statements. At any rate, Andrey Kozyrev is going to discuss the problem of the Ukrainian ratification during his upcoming meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher. As can be understood, it is a matter of making this issue a major one on the agenda of the future meeting between Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton in Moscow.

Of course, unless Moscow proves its point to Kiev now, it will be very difficult for it to "advance"—for the time being, in political and economic aspects—to Eastern Europe, which the Kremlin remembered. It is clear, however, that a deterioration of relations between Ukraine and Russia, against the background of problems with the Russian ruble that have made Presidents Nursultan Nazarbayev and Islam Karimov serious opponents [of Russia], will not add stability to the CIS. Already at the Ashgabat summit of leaders of the Commonwealth states, we may witness the emergence of unexpected coalitions and unforeseen economic steps on the part of Russia. A major movement of figures is under way on the CIS chessboard, to the music of talks on nuclear weapons and on currencies....

National Affairs

Report on Missile Code-Breaking Attempts Denied

LD1012160393 Kiev UNLAR in Ukrainian 2310 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, 9 December—In its bulletin of 8 December 1993, carrying a report entitled "Ukraine Satisfied With Retargeting Missiles", the private English-speaking news

agency INTELNEWS quotes the director of the press center of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry, Ihor Melnychenko, as saying that "a group of scientists is working on breaking the codes of Ukrainian missiles. If we get these codes, we will then be able to retarget the missiles".

The press service of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry has officially denied this report and stated that no such data has been provided for the INTELNEWS agency by representatives of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry. Ukraine exercises administrative control over nuclear weapons and is taking steps to prevent the use of them.

The Defense Ministry press service's report points out that the establishment of the press service does not have such a post as the director and that the service does not employ a member of staff with such a name as Melnychenko.

Adviser Cited on 'Unique' Nuclear Status

LD1112182893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] Ukraine owns nuclear arms but it is not a nuclear state in the full sense of the term. This opinion was expressed by Anton Butenko, adviser to the president of Ukraine for foreign economic issues, in an interview published in URYADOVYY KURIER on 11 December. "Ukraine does not produce and never produced nuclear devices," he stressed, "nor does it possess the know-how for the production of nuclear arms. It does not even control them, as the nuclear button is in Moscow." Anton Butenko described the situation as unique and one which is not envisaged by existing international agreements. "Taking this into account," the president's adviser observed, "Ukraine must dispose of these arms as a material asset."

Rukh Congress Meets in Kiev, Discusses Platform

LD1112152393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1455 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] Ukraine's Rukh [Ukraine People's Movement] opposition movement, at Saturday's session of its current congress in Kiev, was discussing its 16-point platform for the March 1994 parliamentary election. The document advocates a political system with decentralized government and the president being the head of state but not the head of the executive branch.

Rukh's primary economic objective is more rapid privatization, including that of land, and closer cooperation of Ukrainian enterprises with their partners abroad, especially in former Soviet republics. The platform also proposes changing the country's energy consumption scheme in order to minimize oil and gas imports, reduce the number of nuclear power stations and close down the Chernobyl Station.

In military affairs, Rukh favors cooperation with European defense structures and suggests shortening the term of national service to 18 months.

As far as social security goes, Rukh promises a minimum wage no lower than the subsistence minimum, coupons for food and basic consumer goods for poorer strata, free medicines for the chronically ill and free use of the public transport by pensioners.

Congress Ends; Chornovil Reelected

LD1212191093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1648 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] The People's Rukh Movement of Ukraine which rallies more than 51,000 active members has ended its fifth congress in Kiev. The delegates approved the movement's strategy aimed at stiffening Ukrainian statehood and further political and economic reforms including multi-party democracy, privatization and support to the property-owning class. They reaffirmed that Rukh would continue to oppose the present government.

In a special resolution, the delegates described President Kravchuk's policy as anti-popular and Ukraine as a sanctuary of communist nomenklatura. Rukh accused the ruling party of conducting a deliberate policy aimed at hitting living standards, winding up democratic processes and restoring communist rule.

The resolution says the movement's main priority is to prepare for general and presidential elections next March and June respectively. It says the Rukh's platform will help elect a new parliament which can form a competent government of reforms and work towards Ukrainian statehood, the republic's interests and social security safeguards.

Rukh leader Vyacheslav Chornovil was unanimously re-elected as its chairman.

Chornovil Sums Up Meeting

LD1312112993 Kiev UNIA in Ukrainian 0800 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Kiev, 12 Dec—The first round of the fifth all-Ukrainian congress of Ukraine's People's Movement [Rukh] has ended. The congress adopted its main resolution and a number of other documents. Rukh Chairman Vyacheslav Chornovil made a concluding speech. He expressed considerable satisfaction that such a large and powerful organization as the People's Movement had been preserved, and called for concentration of efforts on the campaign to win the election. He said Rukh has proved that it is a democratic centrist organization which defends the interests of the people and the interests of the state, campaigning for democracy and reforms. It is an organization capable of taking responsibility for the fate of the state and of creating an independent and genuinely democratic Ukraine. [passage omitted]

The chairman and members of the Rukh central leadership held a news conference on the results of the fifth congress. In order for us to have a Ukrainian state, Mr. Chornovil stressed, we must achieve democracy, ensure

parliamentary competition, and implement economic and political reforms. As for the effect of the Russian parliamentary election on the situation in Ukraine, Mr. Chornovil stressed: It is the anti-imperial democratic forces we want to win. Rukh's main rivals in the election, the Rukh leader believes, will be both the extreme-left forces and the party of current powermongers. The latter, being especially cunning, are adept at using our slogans and programs. We must even be prepared to function in conditions of a possible dictatorial regime, Mr. Chornovil said, as the party of powermongers is provoking society to follow this course of development.

In reply to a question on the possible introduction of a national currency, Volodymyr Chernyak, member of Rukh's central leadership and a well-known economist said, in particular, that Rukh will campaign for the implementation of a monetary reform, but only as part of an economic reform package. He believes, however, that it is too late for the introduction of the hryvna. The main task now is to pull through the peak of inflation, stop the fall of output, and form a stabilization fund.

Regional Labor Unrest Noted After Price Hikes

LD1112104693 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1330 GMT
10 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev—Letters and telegrams from regional trade union associations and labor collectives expressing indignation and protesting against the antipopular policy of the government, in connection with the latest price increases, are continuing to arrive at the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine on 9 December.

Nikolayev: An assembly of representatives of the oblast's labor collectives have appealed to the president, government, and Supreme Council of Ukraine, demanding that the state's internal and external policy be subordinated to the interests of the people. In particular they demanded that "measures for the social protection of the population be reviewed in connection with the increase in prices; that energy provision for vitally important facilities of the production and consumer services sector be normalized; that the issue of mutual settlements of enterprises of Ukraine and of CIS countries be resolved; that the instruction of the National Bank of Ukraine and the cabinet of ministers of Ukraine on banning the granting of credits not be carried out, because all enterprises would stop and unemployment would increase considerably; and that a state of emergency regime be introduced in Ukraine's economy" urgently.

The assembly also resolved to appeal to leaders of CIS countries, calling on them to coordinate their efforts to prevent the entire collapse of the economy.

Kharkov: The Oblast Association of Trade Unions is demanding that a veto be imposed on all decrees and instructions of the government regarding price increases; a considerable number of state enterprises do not have

the funds to increase wages, and most of them are on the verge of stopping anyway in connection with the energy crisis.

Dnepropetrovsk Oblast: The Intersectoral Council of Trade Unions is demanding of the Supreme Council of Ukraine the resignation of the current composition of the cabinet of ministers and that its functions be delegated to the new government.

The collective of the crane-building plant is demanding, in a telegram to the president and chairman of the Supreme Council of Ukraine, that limitations on the Consumption Fund be cancelled, that indexation of enterprises' circulating capital be introduced, and that wages be increased in proportion to price increases.

Lugansk: The labor collective of the "Luhanskteplovoz" [Lugansk diesel locomotive] production association, which has stopped because of the restrictions on energy resources and whose employees been forced to go on paid vacation, is demanding the frenetic increase in prices be stopped, and is also demanding the resignation of the president, Supreme Council, and Government of Ukraine.

Vinnitsa: The participants of the Plenum of the Oblast Committee of the Trade Union of Education and Science Employees are demanding reliable social guarantees and that the process of denationalization, privatization, demonopolization, and the reform of production be energized. The market price of labor should correspond to market prices.

Ternopol: The Oblast Council of Trade Unions is insisting that a minimum wage be established at the level of a realistically determined poverty level (according to the trade unions' calculations, 339,000 karbovantsi), and that it be adjusted each month in accordance with an index of the change in prices and tariffs for goods and services; that value added tax on goods determining the minimum consumption budget be lowered; that the regulated distribution of goods that are prime necessities be introduced in accordance with fixed prices which are accessible to the population. It also demands that urgent measures to normalize the work of production and provide it with energy-carriers be taken.

Sumy Oblast: The Oblast Council of Trade Unions is demanding that a ration card system for distributing the most important food products be introduced, and is insisting that the president of Ukraine urgently give a speech to the people, informing them of the specific measures being taken by the state to get out of the economic crisis.

The collective of the Lebedynskyy commercial center has supported a protest action against the decision by the Government of Ukraine to appropriate the value of the difference in the price of goods into the budget, and has sent telegrams addressed to the cabinet of ministers of Ukraine and the local state administration on this matter.

Zaporozhye: Workers of the transformer plant have stated their readiness to take part in protest actions and were in favor of the necessity of assisting the actions materially.

Kirovograd: The collective of the foundry is demanding that a Supreme Council session be convened urgently to discuss the issue of imposing a moratorium on price increases, and also that a Ukraine-wide protest action be conducted to demand the resignation of the president and cabinet for the collapse of Ukraine's economy.

Sevastopol Meeting Backs Strike

LD1112201693 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1938
GMT 11 Dec 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Mikhail Stetsyuk for TASS]

[Text] Sevastopol December 11 TASS—Ukrainian trade unions and communists have called on the citizens of Ukraine to set up striking committees across the republic and stage a national strike in protest against the anti-popular policy of the government.

The members of the coordinating committees of trade unions and the leftist bloc which includes communists and socialists held a joint meeting in the port city of Sevastopol on Saturday to establish a city striking committee and declare pre-strike readiness.

Their demands include the implementation of the tariff agreement with trade unions, rationing of basic necessities and their sale at fixed prices, indexation of wages and salaries and a money reform. Political demands call for the resignation of President Leonid Kravchuk and the government and the establishment of a government of popular trust.

The city striking committee plans to hold the first rally on December 18 to protest against the government's policy.

Unions Warn of 'Social Explosion'

LD1012205693 Kiev *UNIAN in Ukrainian* 1530 GMT
10 Dec 93

[Text] The presidium of the territorial committee of the Black Sea Fleet trade union sent a statement to Ukraine's president, cabinet of ministers, and Supreme Council on 9 December on the deteriorating socioeconomic situation of Black Sea Fleet labor collectives. In particular the statement notes: "The latest drastic price increases without proper measures for the social protection of citizens puts us in a hopeless situation. Income per capita in most families is several times lower than the minimum standard of living. People are forced to beg. [no closing quotation mark as received] The leaders of the fleet trade unions do not rule out the possibility of a

social explosion in labor collectives and demand urgent measures be taken for the population's social protection and urgent renewal of the law "On Indexation of Citizens' Monetary Income."

Kuchma, Grinev Set Up 'Centrist' Reform Bloc

LD1012195493 Moscow *INTERFAX in English* 1409
GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] Ex Vice-Speaker of Ukraine's Parliament Vladimir Grinev, the leader of the "New Ukraine" Association, and the Republic's former Premier Leonid Kuchma have announced the formation of an inter-regional centrist bloc of political reform. In a statement released Thursday night, they charged the government with being insensitive toward individuals.

"Our goal is to set up an election bloc as a viable political force that can influence events in Ukraine and assume responsibility for regional and central administrations."

At the Congress of the National Union of Industrialists and Businessmen on Thursday, Kuchma was elected president of the alliance. In a speech before delegates, he stressed the need for a clear-cut long-term economic policy for Ukraine and re-emphasized that Russia must remain its strategic partner.

Crimean Council Wants More Economic Independence

LD1012164493 Kiev *UNIAN in Ukrainian* 2010 GMT 9
Dec 93

[Text] Simferopol—The 15th session of the Crimean Supreme Council began work on 9 December. It plans to examine over 30 issues. Among them are the draft constitution of Ukraine, the draft law of the Crimean Republic "On Deputies of the Supreme Council of the Crimea," the conceptual approach to privatization problems and to the privatization program for 1994, measures in the campaign against crime, and a draft land code of the Crimea. Speaking to deputies, Crimean Supreme Council Chairman Mykola Bahrov emphasized that the session should resolutely state its intention to intensify Crimean economic independence and to speak against endeavors to impede this process. "We cannot agree with the place allocated for the Crimea in the draft constitution of Ukraine," the Crimean parliament speaker said.

The session voted for the resolution "On the Draft Constitution of Ukraine (the version of 26/10/93)." The document says that the draft constitution does not take into account clauses of the law of Ukraine "On Delimitation of Powers Between Bodies of the State Authorities of Ukraine and the Republic of the Crimea," and also of the Crimean constitution, in which the Crimean authority to independently resolve issues of statehood and economic and social-cultural development on its

territory is consolidated. It is stressed that the systematic disregard by the working group of the constitutional commission of proposals by the Crimean Supreme Council is inadmissible in a law-governed democratic state. The Crimean Supreme Council proposed that Article 167 of the Constitution of Ukraine be set forth in this version: "The Republic of the Crimea is a law-governed democratic state, which has its constitution, legislation, and bodies of state authority. The constitution of the Republic of the Crimea should not contravene the fundamental principles of the lawful democratic system of Ukraine."

The Crimean Supreme Council confirmed that as before, it is in favor of the necessity of Ukraine entering into an economic union with CIS countries, and obliged the delegation from the Crimean parliament, which will go to Odessa to a conference of leaders of Ukraine's regions on 10 December, to be guided by the document, which was adopted.

Crimean Parliament Chief To Run for President

*LD1112153193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1455
GMT 11 Dec 93*

[Text] The chairman of the Crimean parliament said he would stand for president of the Republic of the Crimea. Nikolay Bagrov told a news conference in Simferopol, capital of southern Ukraine's peninsular region, that he had made that decision on Saturday morning. He said he would run as an independent candidate and did not want "to take on any obligations to any political party." The political system in the Crimea "has not yet completely taken shape," he said.

"The Crimea needs a president holding not pro-Ukrainian or pro-Russian but pro-Crimean views. Only in that case will he be able to defend the interests of the Crimeans," Bagrov said. He said his election platform "is still in the making, and it's too early yet to talk about it." But it is based on three main principles, ethnic accord, order and market reforms in the economy, he said.

Belarus**U.S. Delegation Researching POW's, MIA's***LD1012182393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1325
GMT 10 Dec 93*

[By BELINFORM correspondent Aleksandr Lushkevich and TASS]

[Text] Minsk December 10 TASS—A United States government delegation has arrived in Belarus to collect information about the fate of POW's and MIA's from World War II, the "Cold War", and the Korean and Vietnam wars.

The head of the U.S. delegation, Ambassador Malcom Toon, told a press conference that an investigation into the fate of Americans taken prisoner, missing, and killed during military operations on former Soviet territory started two years ago, when Russian President Boris Yeltsin suggested forming a joint Russian-American commission for that purpose. However, Toon thinks that in Belarus as well as Russia there are surely veterans of the Vietnam and Korean wars who know something about the fate of American POW's. In return, the American Administration is willing to help the Belarus Government collect information about Belarussians who went missing and or captured during the USSR's Afghanistan campaign.

Belarusian Foreign Minister Petr Kravchanka said the Americans will be allowed to study all the necessary documents which interest them and are located in the republic's archives. He also stressed that this cooperation is one of Belarus' contributions to the preparations for U.S. President Bill Clinton's visit, which is planned for early 1994.

On Friday, representatives of the American delegation met with the chairman of the Belarus Supreme Soviet, Stanislav Shushkevich.

Deputies Continue Work, Adopt Law on Taxation*WS1012134293 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in
Belarusian 1100 GMT 10 Dec 93*

[Text] Today, 247 people's deputies participated in the Supreme Soviet plenary session. As usual, the discussion began with miscellaneous issues. Nine deputies delivered reports. People's Deputy Aleh Trusaw wanted to know when Belarusian television viewers are going to be able to watch the independent eighth television channel. Later, People's Deputy Kryzhanowski expressed his dissatisfaction with the work of the session. He proposed introducing obligatory reports by high officials to the Supreme Soviet deputies. People's Deputy Hrybaw drew attention to the fact that many deputies are absent and, in his opinion, the session should work for ten months and hold plenary sessions five times a week, while weekends should be devoted to rest and meetings with the electorate. People's Deputy Syamdzyanava, member

of the Popular Front opposition faction, again proposed discussing the minimum wage issue. However, the law-makers began discussing another sore issue—the draft program on state housing construction. Minister of Housing Boris Batura delivered a report on the subject. After a short discussion, the document was forwarded for consideration to a legislative commission. Next, the attention of the deputies centered around taxation issues. At last, the law on taxation was adopted.

'Spring '94' Supports Minsk Strike Committee Appeal*WS1012131393 Minsk BELAPAN in Russian 1337
GMT 9 Dec 93*

[Text] The Coordination Committee of the "Spring '94" Democratic Forces Association has come out in support of the appeal by the Minsk Strike Committee on the preparations for a general political walkout with the aim of achieving the resignation of Vyacheslav Kebich's government, the establishment of a provisional government, and early democratic elections for the Supreme Soviet of the Republic. The aforementioned goals fully coincide with the most immediate tasks of "Spring '94." The Coordination Committee noted at its meeting that an organized political strike, unlike a chaotic picket, is a radical but civilized way of overcoming the economic and political crisis. According to information available to BELAPAN, support for the appeal of the Minsk Strike Committee was expressed by the representatives of all organizations comprising "Spring '94," with the exception of the Belarusian Labor Confederation.

1993 Economic Crime Rate 25 Percent Ahead of 1992*WS1312102993 Minsk BELAPAN in Russian 1600
GMT 10 Dec 93*

[Unattributed report: "Rate of Economic Crimes in Belarus Is Growing"]

[Text] BELAPAN has learned from the State Department for Combating Economic Crime within the Ministry for Internal Affairs that from January to December 1993, 13,283 economic crimes and crimes by officials have been registered in the Republic. This figure is running about 25 percent ahead of 1992 levels. According to these statistics, the index of grave economic crimes—embezzlements on a large scale—has risen by 50 percent, while the number of bribes is twice as high. The Interior Ministry has registered 9,470 cases of illegal exporting of consumer goods for the sum of 6.296 billion rubles [R]. In addition, Belarusian customs officers have intercepted raw materials and metals worth some R3 billion.

30 Enterprises Delinquent in Energy Account Payments

WS1312101393 Minsk BELAPAN in Russian 1600 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Unattributed report: "Press Conference on Energy Issues Was Held in Minsk"]

[Text] On 10 December, a press conference was held regarding fuel energy issues in the Republic. Belarusian Energy Minister Valentin Gerasimov characterized the situation as being very complicated. In his opinion, this situation is caused by such factors as the disruption of old economic relations, the crisis of the financial system, and the technological crisis manifested by a decrease of the energy output and the delinquency of consumers. In the opinion of the energy minister, the total debt of Belarusian enterprises and organizations for energy consumption stands at 300 billion rubles [R]. In addition, Valentin Gerasimov said that the Belarusian Ministry of Energy has submitted a proposal to the Cabinet of Ministers outlining the introduction of an emergency situation for the winter period. The draft proposal foresees a decrease in energy consumption by 30 percent from the November levels. As of 10 December 1993, Belarus has amassed a debt of R208 billion. According to the participants of the press conference, some 30 Belarusian enterprises have been disconnected from the central power grid due to delinquency in settling their energy accounts.

Union Exhorts Leadership To Address Printing Problems

WS1012143293 Minsk RESPUBLIKA in Russian 7 Dec 93 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Federation of Belarusian Trade Unions Supports Journalists"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Belarusian Trade Union Federation [FPB] has expressed solidarity with journalists and print workers because of the difficult situation in which the Republic's press has found itself. In a letter addressed to the Belarusian Supreme Soviet and the Cabinet of Ministers, the Presidium said that the FPB shares the concern of mass media workers about the threat of bankruptcy hanging over the industry. This desperate condition was brought about by fuel payments settled in Russian rubles and exorbitant prices for paper. The FPB suggested that the Belarusian leadership urgently discuss existing problems with representatives of the Belarusian Journalists' Union, the Belarusian Publishing House, as well as leading agencies and newspapers so that our country does not find itself in an information vacuum.

Servicemen's Social Program Hindered by High Costs

WS1012131093 Minsk VO SLAVU RODINY in 7 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by V. Busko: "Should a Scrooge Pay Twice?"]

[Text] The "Return" program, created by the Committee for Servicemen's Social Protection and other interested ministries and organizations, will soon be submitted for review to the Collegium of the Belarusian Defense Ministry.

Our newspaper repeatedly reported about work on this project. It is designed to facilitate the return to Belarus of servicemen eligible for Belarusian citizenship and currently serving in other CIS Armies. In our previous reports, we wrote about tentative deadlines for an examination of this project on various levels. However, the Committee for Servicemen's Social Protection at the Cabinet of Ministers said that unfortunately, those deadlines could not be met. The high costs of the project proved one of the major constraints. Alas, we are not in a position to reduce these costs. On the contrary, while its implementation called for 90 billion rubles [R] half a year ago, this figure has jumped to R200 billion now.

Moldova

'Sources' Say Government To Postpone Joining CIS

LD1012160993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1409 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] Moldova is determined to become a full member of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Meanwhile, it has become known to INTERFAX from sources in the Moldovan government that the Republic's leadership intends to ask leaders of the CIS countries to postpone for several months Kishinev's joining of the CIS Charter.

The deadline which says that in line with Article 7 of the CIS Charter, CIS members are those which have assumed certain commitments, expires on January 22, 1994.

Moldova's appeal seems to be caused by the situation that shaped up in the republic's parliament. Its presidium solved positively the problem on ratification of the treaty on Moldova's joining the Commonwealth of Independent States and proposed to submit the question for parliament consideration.

The next session will take place following the republic's parliamentary elections scheduled for February 27.

Sources in Kishinev have told INTERFAX that Moldova's request may be included on the agenda of the next session of the CIS Council of Heads of States, scheduled for December 23-24 in Ashkhabad.

Chief of Staff, NATO Official Discuss Cooperation Prospects*AU1112151293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1149 GMT 10 Dec 93*

[Text] Chisinau, ROMPRES 10/12/1993—Army General Antonio Milani, deputy commander-in-chief of the NATO Allied Forces in South Europe, now visiting Chisinau at the head of a military delegation, and Colonel Pavel Chirau, chief of general staff of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Moldova, gave a news conference. They presented the purposes pursued by the North-Atlantic Alliance in the region, the prospects of establishing cooperative relations with the Armed Forces of the Republic of Moldova, possibilities and ways of NATO concrete assistance to the National Army of the Republic of Moldova in various military domains.

Officials React to Tiraspol Death Sentence**Snegur Issues Decree on Verdicts***AU1012140193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1150 GMT 10 Dec 93*

[Text] Chisinau, ROMPRES 10/12/1993—"On December 9, 1993 the Court of Law, unconstitutionally created and functioning in Tiraspol, in flagrant violation of the provisions of the Constitution and other laws of the Republic of Moldova, of the universal declaration of human rights, pronounced the sentence in the trial framed up for a group of citizens of the Republic of Moldova," MOLDOVA PRES reports, mentioning the decree issued in this connection by Moldova's President Mircea Snegur.

"In my capacity as warrantor of the Constitution, of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the citizens of the Republic of Moldova, and of their equality in rights, I decree:

"The sentence pronounced against citizens Ilie Ilascu, Tudor Petrov-Popa, Andrei Ivantoc, Alexandru Lesco, Valeriu Garbuz, Petru Godiac, shall be considered illegal and without legal consequences as it has been pronounced by an illegal juridical body," the decree reads.

Snegur Appeals To International Bodies*AU1012144293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1332 GMT 10 Dec 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/12/1993—The president of the Republic of Moldova Mircea Snegur addressed an appeal to the United Nations, to the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), to the heads of state and of government, with respect to the sentence pronounced in the mock trial in Tiraspol set up against the five Romanian patriots.

The separatist leaders in Tiraspol pushed to a tragic end the political mock trial staged and conducted by themselves, brutally disconsidering the fundamental principles of the contemporary international life: democracy, justice and humanism, President Snegur's message reads.

All efforts made by the leadership of the Republic of Moldova, by the United Nations, CSCE, the Council of Europe, Parliaments and Governments of many countries, political personalities, efforts aiming to end this trial and to submit the detainees to the constitutional judicial bodies were disregarded. The execution of the penalty would mean nothing but a premeditated murder, a loathsome and dirty murder which cannot be tolerated, reads the president's message asking for an as urgent as possible intervention of the international bodies.

Snegur Demands CSCE Support*AU1112194293 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 11 Dec 93*

[Text] Today Moldovan President Mircea Snegur received Slavomir Dadrova [name as heard], the head of the CSCE mission in Chisinau. The main issue discussed was the anticonstitutional act of the illegal Tiraspol juridical bodies that have passed the death sentence over certain citizens of the Republic of Moldova.

According to MOLDOVA-PRES news agency cited by ROMPRES, President Snegur pointed out that the Tiraspol authorities defy both world public opinion and the current leadership in Chisinau, and that he is counting on the active support of the CSCE, UN, and all states of the world in preventing the carrying out of the sentence.

In turn, Dadrova emphasized the fact that the CSCE continues to firmly demand the transferring of the detainees from Tiraspol to Chisinau, that is, their handing over to the constitutional juridical bodies of the Republic of Moldova. He also saluted President Snegur's stance related to the peaceful settlement of the existing misunderstandings.

Lalumiere Sends Declaration*AU1112201993 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 11 Dec 93*

[Mircea Dascalu report from Chisinau]

[Excerpt] The abominable sentence condemning Ilie Ilascu to death by shooting and the other members of his group to prison terms, passed in Tiraspol by a fake juridical body of a state imposed by force, continues to cause reactions firmly condemning that barbarian act for the end of the 20th century. The life of Ilie Ilascu is in danger and today Catherine Lalumiere, the secretary general of the Council of Europe, also intervened in his support by sending a declaration to the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Republic of Moldova.

The declaration reads: We insistently call all the persons currently holding power in the Dniester region to do everything they can to prevent the execution of the death sentence passed on 9 December against Ilie Ilascu. I would like to recall that according to elementary principles of justice, legality, and protection of human rights generally accepted by the international community, any person accused of a crime has the right to a fair trial by a juridical body established by law according to the stipulations of the constitution. Mr. Ilascu and the other prisoners held in Tiraspol, who have been sentenced to prison terms, have to be transferred to competent authorities that offer guarantees for a fair trial from the point of view of the observance of human rights.

Being in contact with the CSCE, we are ready to examine all ways that could lead to the solution of this situation according to the principles of the two bodies, the declaration signed by Catherine Lalumiere, secretary general of the Council of Europe, concludes. [passage omitted]

CSCE Mission Warns of Growing Tension

AU1112194393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1454
GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] Chisinau ROMPRES, 11/12/1993—In a communique broadcast by MOLDOVA-PRES, the CSCE mission in Moldova is expressing concern that the sentence passed in the Tiraspol trial could further complicate ties between the left and the right banks of the Dniester, already so tensed. The CSCE have repeatedly called on all interested sides for the trial not to bring further tension. It is also important not to make use of this case for political aims in Moldova or in certain parts of Moldova, the communique reads.

Stating further for political dialogue between the two sides for a complete solution to the conflict, the mission intends to play an active role in the promotion of a political settlement based on recommendations formulated recently by the CSCE body. Moreover, the CSCE mission in Moldova will further promote full respect of human rights and the supremacy of law. Referring to the Ilascu group case, we state ourselves for its examining by a court agreed by all parts interested, the communique reads. The CSCE mission is stating its openness to support the transfer of the Ilascu group to such a court.

Prosecutor General Rejects Verdicts

AU1112201893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1801
GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] Chisinau ROMPRES, 11/12/1993—A MOLDOVA-PRES broadcast reads that Dumitru Postovan, general prosecutor of the Republic of Moldova,

addressed a statement to Olga Ivanova, "the judge" in the Tiraspol trial, which reads that "the 'sentence' in the Ilascu group case has no legal effects and that is why it is not liable to execution. The Moldovan Dniester Republic does not and cannot exist. That is why its state bodies cannot exist, too, the court of law and the general prosecutor's office included," the statement says.

Postovan views "the sentence" in the Ilascu case as "a settling of accounts, a murder committed on political grounds exclusively."

"I once again remind you that several suits are filed against all 'prosecutors' and 'judges,' against you included, and that sooner or later you will be held responsible for your deeds," reads the statement broadcast by the MOLDOVA-PRES news agency.

Speaker: New Parliament Will Solve Problem

LD1212191493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1841
GMT 12 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Fedor Angeliy]

[Text] Chisinau December 12 TASS—A new parliament in Moldova will be able to solve all problems connected with the Dniester region and Gagauz Republic, parliament speaker Petru Luchinskiy said.

"Whatever the assistance that we receive from outside, we won't be able to resolve the Dniester problem until we find a common language with each other," Luchinskiy said in an interview with the newspaper VECHERNY KISHINEV (EVENING KISHINEV) published on Sunday.

"The factor of mistrust is still very strong. It is clear, though, that the Dniester structures are anti-constitutional. However, it should be admitted that Tiraspol leaders would not have achieved anything if they had no support of the population," Luchinskiy said.

He believes that the revolts in the Moldovan capital several years ago have frightened the residents of the Dniester Republic. Tremendous efforts are needed to restore trust between people living on both sides of the Dniester. One should not forget that left-bank districts have their own peculiarities. Therefore a favourable factor in solving the Dniester problem could be a new administrative and territorial reform, the speaker said.

Luchinskiy said that all conflicts are solved gradually and there is no need to rush the settlement of the Dniester conflict either.

Kazakhstan

Parliament Delegates Legislative Powers to President

LD1012131593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1140
GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] The Kazakh Parliament granted additional powers to President Nazarbayev and local administration chiefs and passed a decision to cease its activities after the current session.

The former decision was passed on the morning of December 10 by a vote of 248 out of the 272 deputies present.

Until the first session of a new parliament starts, President Nursultan Nazarbayev has the power to make such legislative decisions as holding a referendum, imposing emergency rule, appointing a prime minister and cabinet members, appointing the Supreme Court, and sacking the prosecutor general, National Bank chairman and chairmen and members of the Constitutional, Supreme and Higher Court of Arbitration.

He is to authorize the national budget for the first half of 1994; local budgets will be approved by heads of local administrations.

The deputies will retain, until a new parliament opens after the March 7, 1994 elections, the legal and social guarantees that are provided for by the legislation on the status of people's deputies.

Nazarbayev told the deputies that the Supreme Soviet's staff, most of whom were skilled personnel, would not be sacked.

The Supreme Soviet has started discussions on a local executive body bill.

The session is expected to end on December 15.

Adopts Laws on Dissolution

LD1012200693 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in
Kazakh 1500 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] The current parliament will terminate its authority ahead of time. Judging by all the facts, the session is accelerating toward its end. It is seen in the fact that deputies are becoming more constructive, understanding the situation that has taken shape in the Republic. This approach appears in a very positive way in the results of their work.

At its morning session today, the parliament adopted two important acts. The deputies began their day with the examination of a draft law on the temporary delegation of additional authority to the president of the Republic and to heads of local administrations. Umirbek Zholdasbekov, who presented the draft on behalf of an

initiative group of deputies, answered numerous questions of his colleagues, who were satisfied with the answers. The law was passed.

In accordance with this law, prior to when a new parliament begins its work, the head of state has been given the right to issue—on the basis of and for the implementation of the Constitution—enactments that have legal validity and to exercise, if need be, the authority of the Supreme Council.

The deputies next began to discuss the preterm dissolution of the Supreme Council itself. After an exchange of opinions, this law was also passed. This law envisages that dismissed deputies have their legal immunity and social guarantees, as stated by the law, until the first session of a newly elected parliament. The government will take measures to find employment for the deputies and the apparatus of the Supreme Council.

Both laws will become valid from the moment of their publication. The session then returned to the discussion of the draft law and article-by-article adoption of the law on local representative and executive bodies. Until the lunch break, more than half of the articles had been endorsed.

The parliamentarians decided that local representative bodies will be called a maslikhat [assembly of deputies]. The number of deputies will be set by a relevant meeting, limited to 50 in oblasts and Almaty city, 30 in cities, and 25 in rayons.

President Nazarbayev participated in the work of the parliament. The next session of the Supreme Council will be held on Monday, 13 December.

Nazarbayev Discusses Privatization, CIS

AU1312113793 Vienna PROFIL in German 13 Dec 93
p 51

[Interview with President Nursultan Nazarbayev by Leo Gabriel in Almaty; date not given: "We Are Not Resentful"]

[Text] [Gabriel] Mr. President, you have started privatization in the middle of Asia. How far have you got with this?

[Nazarbayev] At the beginning of perestroika, we were quite euphoric about privatization. But Kazakhstan is not England. The Kazakhs have a different psychology. We had to change our economic policy. About 60 to 70 percent of all property will stay nationalized. Industry will be transferred to joint-stock companies, with 50 percent of the shares being held by the state. The chairmen of the holdings are mainly government representatives. The population is unfortunately not yet prepared for full privatization.

[Gabriel] Will you go on privatizing?

[Nazarbayev] We need a private sector of about 40 percent. Once we have achieved this, we will take it from there. If this competition of nationalized and private economy works, we will go on privatizing. But if we find that a national economy is more efficient, we will do it the other way round.

[Gabriel] In Russia, privatization is taken further.

[Nazarbayev] Kazakhstan is not Russia. Russia has a huge territory and enormous economic power. Very soon, one third of Russian industry will stand still. Companies no longer receive subsidies, there will be many unemployed. Russia is a big country and will probably be able to tolerate this. Kazakhstan cannot do this. I have no ambitions to act as the engine driver of such a policy.

[Gabriel] And if the Russians keep to their existing course?

[Nazarbayev] We will make our own policy, which will, however, not be very different from the Russian one. We will see what happens around us. (Laughs) This is not Asian cleverness, this is life.

[Gabriel] Are there any tensions between Kazakhs and Russians in your country?

[Nazarbayev] Kazakhs are not resentful. Russians who came here to colonize the country were always given a friendly welcome by the Kazakhs. Once they have lived here for 20 or 30 years, they change. They no longer want to live in Europe. Here, they got to know the vastness of the steppes, they had to learn how to get to grips with their problems on their own.

[Gabriel] Do you see a chance for the CIS?

[Nazarbayev] There was a time, after the Soviet Union disintegrated, when we were very romantic. We thought we could reunite. I, too, was wrong in that respect. Now I know that every state needs time to live and balance its own independence. Only then can we democratically unite as equal partners. Unfortunately, certain Russian politicians still have a Soviet way of thinking, which prevents such a unification.

Nazarbayev, Japanese Businessmen Discuss Cooperation

LD1012204293 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1500 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] On 10 December President Nazarbayev met members of the Japanese economic mission led by Hiakawa Yuji, Japan's International Trade and Industry Ministry's director general for international trade policy. Nazarbayev said relations between Kazakhstan and Japan are dynamic and expressed his hope that the mission's current visit is a new step in this direction. Our Republic has great economic potential, stressed Nazarbayev. We want Japanese companies to come here

with their investments and up-to-date technology and to work here to benefit both themselves and us.

Hiakawa Yuji said the name of Nazarbayev is very popular in Japan because of his weighed and resolute efforts in carrying out democratic reform and market transformations. We have worked very fruitfully, the guest said. A Kazakh-Japanese economic committee was set up. Cooperation in agriculture and ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy will be developed. Japanese businessmen want to build an office in Almaty and install up-to-date communication to help promote close business contacts between the two countries.

Vice President Yerik Asanbayev, Deputy Premier Syzdyk Abishev, and heads of a number of ministries and departments participated in the meeting.

Nazarbayev Addresses Almaty WHO Conference

LD1312123093 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0700 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] An international conference organized by the World Health Organization [WHO] opened in Almaty's Alatau sanatorium today. It is devoted to the 15th anniversary of the 1978 Almaty WHO conference. The conference will discuss matters connected with health care and prevention of diseases in the world's newly independent countries. Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev spoke at the conference:

[Begin Nazarbayev recording, in Russian] Esteemed Director General, ladies and gentlemen. I cordially greet the participants and guests of the conference, which is organized in the capital of our country under the auspices of such prestigious international organizations as WHO, UNICEF and the UN Organization. I wish to welcome and thank WHO Director General Hiroshi Nakajima; Gwido Bertolazzo, deputy acting director of the UNICEF Children's Fund; and Eric Aswal, director general of the European WHO Bureau, for attending and participating, and other esteemed guests who held it necessary, by visiting us, to pay great attention to our Republic and this important event.

Following high ideals of humanism, 15 years ago, representatives of 134 countries of the world gathered in Almaty. They discussed the most urgent problems of great concern to mankind, and outlined concrete measures and elaborated recommendations for governments' public and medical services providers in order to protect and provide health for the world's population.

The declaration adopted at that conference gained recognition in history as the Magna Carta of health care. Many of its provisions have been implemented. During this period quite a number of developments in the world radically changed the political situation. New independent states appeared on the map—Kazakhstan among them.

The road we have chosen toward the market and democracy is accompanied by quite serious difficulties in many

spheres of life, public health care included. But we adhere to the principles proclaimed by the Almaty declaration, and strive to develop medical service provisions using the experience, help and support of the officers of international organizations.

I am convinced that tackling the problems of protecting the health of mankind is a noble mission, which we can achieve only by joining our efforts—all states, governments, and the general public together—with the view of historical and practical experience and achievements of the world community as whole.

I do not think that the 15th anniversary of the earlier conference alone evoked the desire to hold another conference in this very place, at the capital of our independent state.

Kazakhstan pursues the policy of peace and equality, adheres to humanism and an interest in the welfare of people, and builds its statehood on this basis in view of its multi-ethnicity. Kazakhstan aims at fulfilling its historical function with the view of man, his interests and rights. It is Kazakhstan that finds itself in the most difficult situation among all other former USSR republics as far as health care is concerned. As is known, planning of medicine supplies in the former USSR...[pauses] when they extracted raw material in one place, and made medicines from it in another, still another place, or a republic, produced medical equipment. These currently disrupted ties cause great difficulties to us. We are setting up our own pharmaceutical industry based on our defense and chemical plants. Despite our hardships, I think we will cope with this program. Nevertheless, we need integration and coordination.

Kazakhstan, in its policy—and I as president—are doing our best to bring peoples and ethnic groups who lived on the former USSR territory, closer together. We want the economies to be integrated, including science and medicine, and public health, for the benefit of all people living on this territory. It is all the more important that we, as nobody else, no other republic or state, find ourselves face to face with the most difficult ecological aftermaths of the former regime. We inherited the aftermaths of nuclear weapons testing that took place over 40 years, when nuclear explosions were made above and on the ground, and this was kept secret, the population was unaware—we have hundreds of thousands of people suffering from radiation. It is a tremendous problem. We are struggling against it, but it is a very difficult economic problem. Though this crime was committed by the state that was previously called [words indistinct] we have to combat the aftermath alone.

The Aral Sea is fading away—it has been damaged [words indistinct] and the people who live around this massive water reservoir, which has significance not only for Central Asia but for the planet. The main problem is that people living there are facing major hardships. The problem of delivering drinking water is very difficult to tackle. We are taking measures: We set up a special fund

that includes all Central Asian states and Russia. I addressed all heads of states and international agencies, asking them to support this fund. I was elected its president last year. I received answers from many heads of state, with good intentions to support this fund both technologically and financially. Its aim is first to help people.

We are also concerned with the increasing water level in the Caspian Sea. It means many problems for the coastal regions, such as flooding of industrial and residential districts.

Kazakhstan, due to its resources, has become a region which delivers raw materials, recovers minerals and processes them and sends them to other countries raw. As is known, this is an unclean production. It is an ecologically unclean production. These numerous metallurgical and [word indistinct] factories also create a very unfavourable ecological situation.

I tell you this not because you do not know. I think everyone has been informed about it. Once again I want to draw the attention of such organizations as yours, which have heavy political weight in the world, to Kazakhstan, to the states of Central Asia, which were made hostages to the policy with the main aim of pumping out resources with no regard to people.

I hope you will not leave these problems unattended. From my heart I wish you very fruitful work at your conference. Yours is a very noble mission—protection of health, health care for people. Thank you for your attention. [end recording]

Kyrgyzstan

Bad Weather Forces Gore To Change CIS Tour
LD1212174493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1731 GMT 12 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Akimov]

[Text] Almaty December 12 TASS—U.S. Vice-President Al Gore changed the plans for his CIS tour after his plane had to make a landing in Bishkek, capital of Kyrgyzstan, because of bad weather in Almaty where he was due to arrive today.

He may fly over to Kazakhstan on Monday after the heavy fog that covers the republic's capital is gone. However, local observers do not rule out the possibility that Gore may begin his CIS tour with a visit to Kyrgyzstan to be followed by trips to Kazakhstan and Russia.

Gore is expected to meet with Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev and sign an agreement to set up a bilateral commission for U.S. humanitarian and agricultural assistance to Kyrgyzstan.

In Kazakhstan, the vice-president is expected to sign a U.S.- Kazakh agreement on safe dismantlement of nuclear weapons and discuss steps to be taken by Kazakhstan to join the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

After that the U.S. vice-president will fly to Moscow. He will meet with President Boris Yeltsin and take part in the session of the U.S.-Russian Inter-Governmental Commission for Cooperation in Power Engineering and Space. The session will also be attended by U.S. Secretary of Commerce Ronald Brown, Secretary of Energy Hazel O'Leary, National Aeronautics and Space Administration Head Daniel Goldin and Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Carol Browner.

Gore and Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, both co-chairmen of the commission, are expected to sign a package of bilateral agreements on economic, scientific and technological cooperation, according to a White House statement.

After a visit to St. Petersburg on December 17, Gore will fly to West Germany for a meeting with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl to inform him about the results of his visit to three CIS states. He will return to Washington on December 18.

Parliament Session Fails To Resolve Confidence Issue

LD1112174893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1731 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] The session of Kyrgyzstan's Supreme Soviet held on Saturday in Bishkek failed to resolve the issue on voting procedure regarding confidence in the Prime Minister Tursunbek Chingyshev. The issue on his resignation was aroused due to the discussion of the problem of gold's leakage abroad discussed in the Supreme Soviet.

Several deputies proposed not to discuss this issue at all. They voiced appeals about voluntary resignation of the government and simultaneous self-dissolution of the republic's Supreme Soviet.

The parliament's chairman Meditkan Sherimkulov declared that it is necessary to adopt a package of decrees on elections before the disbandment of the parliament.

Due to stormy debates and impossibility to find a common opinion Sherimkulov who had advised Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev (the latter was also present at the sitting) and announced about an interval in the session's sittings until Monday.

Turkish, Kyrgyz Presidents Exchange Messages

LD1212182493 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Russian 0000 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] President Akayev has also received a letter from Demirel, the president of the Turkish Republic, supporting the idea of setting up an international fund for

the social support of economic reforms in Kyrgyzstan. The fund, amounting to \$100 million, is intended to provide financial assistance to the most impoverished section of the population, including pensioners, teachers, students, doctors, and cultural workers.

In his letter of reply, President Akayev expressed gratitude for the approval of his idea of setting up an international fund for the social support of economic reforms and also for the cooperation of Turkey, which is using all its influence and prestige to gain support for this idea on the part of the countries of the seven [Economic Cooperation Organization members] and international organizations.

In conclusion, Akayev noted with deep satisfaction the state of Kyrgyz-Turkish relations and expressed hope for their further strengthening and successful development.

UK's Major Sends Message to Akayev, Promises Support

LD1212192093 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Russian 0000 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] The Foreign Affairs Ministry press service has announced that President Akayev has received a message from John Major, the prime minister of Great Britain.

The transition to a market economy is a very difficult task, says the letter. Therefore, Great Britain will continue to make its contribution to international efforts to support the economic reforms being carried out in Kyrgyzstan, both through the multilateral programs of the European Community and of international financial organizations, and by means of the bilateral Know-How Fund.

In approving overall the idea of setting up an international fund for the social support of economic reforms in Kyrgyzstan, Major noted the readiness of his country to examine the proposals of the Kyrgyz side on technical assistance, including the sphere of social protection for the population of the Republic.

Tajikistan

Rakhmanov Denies Top-Level Reshuffle Planned

LD1112222693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2209 GMT 11 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe December 12 TASS—Tajikistan's parliament chairman Imamali Rakhmanov denied on Saturday rumours about plans of drastic reshuffling in the republic's upper echelons of power.

He also denied reports that the upcoming session of the parliament opening on December 24 may lead to serious clashes between the legislative and executive branches of power and representatives of regions.

Rakhmanov described as groundless allegations that the session has been postponed until a later date. He stressed that the session will open as scheduled. It will be a constructive and working meeting, he added.

The session will have to discuss a wide range of issues, prioritising the social and economic situation in the country and ways out of the lingering crisis.

At the same time, independent observers believe that if the session opens, sharp discussions will be inevitable. They did not rule out that one of the factions made of deputies from northern regions of Tajikistan may call for introducing presidential rule in the republic.

Russian Troops Clash With 'Militants' in Pyandzh

Nine Killed

LD1112100693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0848 GMT 11 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 11 Dec—On the Pyandzh section of the Tajik-Afghan border, Islamic opposition militants again perpetrated an armed provocation. The Information Department of Tajikistan's Foreign Ministry today informed the ITAR-TASS correspondent that during the night of 10-11 December a group of 15 border violators attempted to break through from Afghan territory on the section of border controlled by guards of the 12th Border Troops subunit of the Pyandzh Border Detachment. As a result of the combat clashes nine border violators were killed, the others returned to Afghan territory. There were no casualties among the border guards.

New Opposition Tactics Cited

LD1312061293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0601 GMT 13 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe December 13 ITAR-TASS—Russian borderguards rebuffed yet another attempt at forcible crossing of the border by a group of Tajik opposition militants from Afghanistan. As a result of an armed clash near Border Post 11 of the Pyanj borderguard detachment, some of the fifteen transgressors were killed and the others fled to Afghan territory. There were no losses among the Russian borderguards.

According to military sources, the Tajik opposition members entrenched in Afghanistan are now using a new tactics of penetrating Tajik territory in small groups for subsequent guerrilla warfare and acts of subversion.

For example, recently a group of Islamic combatants planted a mine under the rails on the stretch between Termez and Kurgan-Tyube. As a result, a train was derailed. The same group machine-gunned a car near the railway.

Defense Ministry Publishes Own Weekly

LD1012183393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1404 GMT 10 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe December 10 TASS—The Defence Ministry of Tajikistan has published its own printed weekly edition "DZHOMII VATAN" (DEFENDER OF THE FATHERLAND), the first issue of which is now on sale in the Tajik capital.

In its address to readers the editorial staff says that the top priority directions of the newspaper will include the building of the national armed forces, propaganda of the advanced experience of the armed forces of the Commonwealth countries and foreign states, as well as patriotic and international education of servicemen.

The first issue of the military weekly publishes greetings by Immali Rakhmanov, head of the Tajik state and chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the republic, Aleksandr Shishlyanikov, defence minister of the republic, and Colonel-General Boris Piyankov, commander of the collective peacekeeping forces in Tajikistan.

The newspaper is published in 5,000 copies in the Tajik and Russian languages.

Uzbekistan

Karimov Issues Decree on Ruble Exchange

LD1212113593 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 0200 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Decree of the Uzbek Council of Ministers on special measures for currency circulation, signed by Islam Karimov; date issued not given—read by announcer]

[Text] In order to facilitate currency circulation and strengthening the som-coupon policy, the Council of Ministers decrees:

1. From 16 December 1993, bread, flour, milk, rice, sugar cubes, sugar, tea, vegetable oil, and all similar food products should be sold only in som-coupons.

2. From 16 December 1993, food products must not be sold for 1993 Russian bank notes on the territory of the Republic of Uzbekistan. In this connection, these monies can be accepted at payment points alongside som-coupons in payment for nonfood products and services in other [word indistinct] with (?no limit) being placed on the quantities. The one, three, five, 10, and 25 ruble notes issued by the USSR State Bank in 1961 and 1992 will be accepted for the sale of nonfood products and public services alongside the som-coupons until 1 January 1994.

3. Banking organizations and commissions should carry out serious daily [word indistinct] supervision over trading centers' observance of the norms set for the sale of food products.

4. The Central Bank of the Republic of Uzbekistan should increase the special exchange points where Russian bank notes can be exchanged, at a one-to-one exchange rate, for 1993 som-coupons. Thus, the exchange of som-coupons for Russian bank notes and their purchase must be implemented within the framework of the exchange [word indistinct].

[Signed] Islam Karimov, chairman of the Council of Ministers [title as heard]

Rights Activist's Assailants Unlikely To Be Pursued

PM1312111393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Albert Musin report: "Attack on Female Member of Uzbek Opposition"]

[Text] Bandits attacked a representative of the opposition in Tashkent.

In the morning of 7 December, three unknown people armed with knives broke into the apartment of "Birlik" movement activist Momura Usmanova. Her husband, who has no connection with politics, was beaten up and as a result received concussion and a broken rib; he is now in the hospital. Usmanova herself and her daughter were locked in the bathroom. The raiders carried out a search of the apartment and removed business and personal documents. They did not touch money and other valuables in the apartment.

Usmanova has remained one of the few people who has continued to report on human rights violations in Uzbekistan despite the constant threat of repression. That day she should have left for Bishkek to attend a conference of Central Asian human rights campaigners.

After they were apprised of what happened, the militia arrived at the scene of the incident amazingly quickly with a group of up to 20 men. You might, however, venture to presume that on this occasion, as in all the many similar incidents involving Uzbek dissidents, the culprits will not come to light.

Armenia

Yerevan Updates Situation on NKR Frontline

NC1012211093 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1430 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Excerpt] Dear listeners, we now report on the latest situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR].

The Karabakh dispute continues to draw the international community's attention. Unfortunately, the effort made by CSCE circles to remove the dispute has yielded no satisfactory result. Undoubtedly, Azerbaijan's irreconcilable approach must be blamed. Azerbaijan's leaders have put forward proposals that are unacceptable to the NKR. Obviously, their proposals are aimed at forcing the NKR to make additional concessions. That will create a threat to the Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh] people and the territorial integrity of that Republic. Consequently, no result has been achieved in the talks on the dispute.

Azerbaijan's leaders have deployed many units and a large quantity of military vehicles near the NKR frontline. Several observers believe Azerbaijan is preparing for a large-scale offensive. It has employed foreign experts to help its military units prepare for their new attacks.

Several sources have said that Azerbaijan has acquired heavy tanks, various types of firearms, and military equipment from several countries, most notably Ukraine.

No broad combat operations took place on the NKR frontline during the past week. The confrontation was mainly in the form of positional fighting. The Armenian side occasionally retaliated against the enemy's provocations.

Azerbaijan's military forces in Beynaganskiy and Agdamskiy Rayons and in the occupied areas in Mardakertskiy Rayon have continued to fire on the Armenian positions with heavy arms. Artsakh's military units silenced two of the enemy's fire emplacements in Beynaganskiy Rayon during the past week.

Tension continues elsewhere on the frontline. But no serious clashes and exchanges of fire have occurred. The most recent clashes occurred in the second half of the day on 9 December. The NKR defense headquarters has revealed that an Azerbaijani military position fired on the NKR's defense positions in Mardakertskiy Rayon with mortars. The Armenian fighters retaliated and destroyed the enemy's position. No one was wounded on the Armenian side. No other incident occurred on the frontline the night before last or yesterday morning. [passage omitted]

Azerbaijan Resumes 'Military Operations'

NC1012142293 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 0943 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] Yerevan, 10 Dec (ARMENPRES)—The Azerbaijani Army has resumed its military operations on the northeastern borders of Armenia.

Artillery and rocket fire was directed toward the defensive positions around the border villages in Idzhevanskiy and Noyemberyanskiy Rayons from Kazakhskiy Rayon at 2250 last night. The shelling continued intermittently until dawn today.

Adhering to the unilaterally declared cease-fire pledge, the Armenian border guards did not take countermeasures.

Azerbaijan

Armenian Forces Reported To Resume Offensive

LD1212224893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] Azerbaijan's Defense Ministry reports that in the course of today, Armenia's Army resumed the onslaught started on 10 December, attacking Azeri positions in the direction of Bey-Lagan. The Armenian side has lost up to 200 men over the three days of fighting, the Azeri side reports.

In addition, seven tanks and five infantry fighting vehicles have been put out of action. People have also been killed and wounded on the Azeri side, but no figures have been given.

Ministry Denies Armenian Claims on Offensive

NC1012165093 Baku Radio Baku International Service in Azeri 1300 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] Recalling the unfounded claims made recently by the Armenian side that the Azerbaijani National Army has launched a large-scale offensive in the south of Karabakh in Azerbaijan, the Azerbaijani Ministry of National Security's Press Service has revealed that Azerbaijan's military units are in their defense positions and have carried out no military operation. The press service also said that Azerbaijan's military units unilaterally comply with the cease-fire agreements.

According to ministry officials, the claims indicate the Armenian side's wish to create a particular international opinion before the Armenian Armed Forces' combat operations on the battlefronts. The ministry's experts believe that the deployment of large units and military equipment by the Armenian aggressors in the north of Karabakh in Azerbaijan confirms that viewpoint.

Russian Troop Deployment Termed 'Inadmissible'

NC1012205793 Baku Radio Baku International Service
in Azeri 1300 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] Azerbaijan's political parties have issued a joint statement to the effect that the transfer of Russia's forces to Azerbaijan is inadmissible. The statement said:

The deployment of any country's military forces in Azerbaijan is inadmissible. Foreign forces' deployment conflicts with the Republic's vital interests.

The statement described as baseless the view that the transfer of Russia's military forces to Azerbaijan will contribute toward the solution of the Karabakh problem in the Republic's favor. It said: The deployment of Russia's forces in Azerbaijan will only make the Republic dependent on Russia in the economic and political fields. Besides, the interests of Azerbaijan's neighbors cannot be ignored.

Parliament Debates Draft on Martial Law

NC1012164293 Baku Radio Baku International Service
in Azeri 1300 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] Our parliamentary correspondent has reported that the National Assembly has begun its debate on the draft law on the declaration of martial law in the Republic. According to the draft, martial law can be declared in various areas or in the entire Republic if Azerbaijan is subjected to armed aggression, a state of war emerges in the Republic, Azerbaijan is confronted with an armed threat, or [words indistinct] by foreign military forces.

Martial law remains in effect for six months. It can be lifted or extended for four months in accordance with parliament's decision. Presidential elections are not held under martial law and full or partial mobilization is declared and the economy is placed on a military footing.

The National Assembly will resume its debate on the draft law after changes are made to finalize it.

Presidential Spokesman Defends Media Curbs

LD1112174393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1655
GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] A spokesman of the presidential apparatus underlined that according to official authorities, the decision on urgent measures to prevent distribution of messages contradicting to the country's interests by mass media does not violate democracy and freedom of word. In his interview with Interfax he pointed out that under the conditions of time of war "every state has the right to protect itself from the tyranny of newspapers."

"Over the last period of time a country-aggressor has no need to receive information of its own intelligence service as it takes necessary information from Azerbaijan's newspapers," said he.

However, he underlined that "there is no talk about any pressure upon newspapers and press and provisions stipulated by the decree concern both the opposition and the official newspapers."

The editor of the independent newspaper Azadlyk Khikmet Gadzhizade qualified this decision of the millimejlis as violation of freedom of word. In his interview with Interfax he noted that at present Azerbaijan has not adopted a decree on military and state secrets. "It has not been determined in a legal form that's why the introduced restrictions will inevitably lead to a political censorship in the country," said Gadzhizade.

In his opinion, this testifies to the fact that Azerbaijan moves back from the proclaimed democratic principles to which it has adhered during the last two years. "This decision is a serious strike against the dialogue which was being established between the opposition and the Azerbaijani leadership over the last period of time," believes Gadzhizade.

Georgia

Minister Denies Report on Abkhaz Withdrawal

NC1012191493 Yerevan SNARK in English 1140 GMT
10 Dec 93

[Text] Tbilisi, December 10 (SNARK)—The Russian "Ostankino" TV "Novosti" news program has reported several times this week that the Abkhazian side pulled out its troops from the Galy region in the western Georgia, and ethnic Georgian refugees are returning to their homes.

"This report of ITAR-TASS, used by 'Novosti' many times for the last days doesn't correspond to reality", Alexander Komoshvili, the Georgian Minister of State Security, has said today to the SNARK reporter.

According to his words, "the general public is confused", since the Abkhazian groups control the settlements and even ways nearby, including firstly the Ingush bridge. Meanwhile he has expressed an opinion that a withdrawn of Abkhazian troops from the Galy region is possible only after the placing of Russian peace-keeping forces in the region of the conflict.

Government Issues Statement on Abkhaz Talks

LD1112194093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1856
GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] Tbilisi December 11 TASS—The Georgian Government issued a statement on Saturday in connection with the end of the first round of talks on the Abkhazian settlement. The talks on the Abkhazian settlement took place in Geneva between November 13 and December 1, 1993. Apart from the Georgian and Abkhazian delegations, they were attended by representatives of Russia and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

Certain optimism was inspired by the fact that the talks were held under the aegis of the United Nations, which in itself is a considerable factor for settling the problem. It is also noteworthy that throughout the entire conflict the U.N. and the Security Council have always held a principle and objective position, the statement said.

The first round of talks "have convinced us of the correctness of the decision, though we know that much effort should be made in order to reach a final solution to the problem. It is our deep conviction that the memorandum adopted in the Geneva enables us to say that our partners are well aware of high responsibility before such an authoritative body as the United Nations," the document stressed.

The cabinet of ministers of Georgia is authorized to say that it positively assesses the process in Geneva and believes that this process should be developed. The participation of the United Nations, CSCE, Russia and Western countries will guarantee this, the statement said.

Ardzinba Wants Observers, More Peacekeepers

LD1112160493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] Abkhazian leader Vladislav Ardzinba has pressed the United Nations for a quicker decision to post additional international observers and deploy international peace-keeping forces along the Inguri River, separating Abkhazian and Georgian forces.

Various forms of assistance to the victims of the conflict are also extremely important for Abkhazia, Ardzinba says in a letter to U.N. secretary General Butrus-Ghali. All that "would help to prevent the resumption of hostilities and overcome the consequences of the war in Abkhazia," Ardzinba says.

He says Abkhazia is ready to comply with the agreements reached with Georgia at the Geneva talks of November 30-December 1. "We attach serious importance to the commitment of the parties... Not to use, or threaten to use, force against each other. This, however, can only be guaranteed by the deployment (in the conflict zone) of international peace-keeping forces," he says.

Shevardnadze Addresses 9 Dec Parliament Session

LD1012152393 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0500 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Excerpts] A plenary meeting of the Georgian parliament was held yesterday. Deputies approved an agenda with some amendments. But before they set to the agenda, Deputy Geno Kalandia took the stand and said that he considered it essential that Jaba Ioseliani give information about Abkhaz-Georgian talks in Geneva. Another deputy, Boris Kakubava, rejected his colleague's idea and said that the parliament had to hear the commander in chief's report on the results of the war in Abkhazia and only after this it would be reasonable to discuss a

document adopted in Geneva. Geno Kalandia withdrew his proposal and consented to the suggestion.

In this connection, the chairman of the parliament, Eduard Shevardnadze spoke to the parliament. He said, in particular, that many deputies demanded that those who were to blame for the beginning of the Abkhazian war and who were to blame for the loss of Sukhumi, Gagra, and Abkhazia be named. It would not be fruitful to seek those guilty at this stage because there existed mutually exclusive views, he said. [passage omitted]

Shevardnadze spoke on this issue. He said that debates at the parliament session on the issues of power and fuel marked the beginning of discussions on problems that were of major importance for the country. He said he thought it would be necessary that the parliament dedicate special sittings to the long-term development of power engineering in Georgia.

The head of state emphasized a circumstance that at the moment Georgia would find it extremely difficult to pay off its debts to those countries who supplied fuel and power, namely, to Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan. Debts to Russia would also increase, he said. Therefore, the population should be aware of this.

It should also be decided what the attitude of the state and the population will be towards the utilization of hydro resources. Georgia is very rich with hydro resources and the parliament has to make a decision about an attitude towards this wealth.

Shevardnadze also touched upon the issues of the production and use of coal, problems related to small electric power stations, and the use of nontraditional sources of obtaining energy resources. He said that in case the energy problem were settled, problems of the development of industry, agriculture, tourism, and other spheres would be settled, too. If there were a serious attitude to these spheres, foreign investments would appear. An integral power network of Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Russia should be restored.

A lot will depend on political stability and improvement of the crime situation when handling energy problems because these are determiners of attraction of foreign investments. Once the situation in western Georgia showed trends towards improvement, the first spring bird appeared. This is a Georgian-American bank. It is a big occasion. Serious bankers who are ready to cooperate with us have arrived. [passage omitted]

The session heard a report on the results of Abkhaz-Georgian talks in Geneva made by the head of the Georgian delegation, Jaba Ioseliani.

Shevardnadze Speaks to Law Enforcement Officials

LD1212224193 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1900 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Speech by Eduard Shevardnadze to law enforcement officials on the "extremely grave criminal situation" at the session hall of parliament in Tbilisi on 11 December—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Shevardnadze] [words indistinct] Batoni [form of address] Jaba and others who addressed the parliament, [words indistinct] the procurator-general, [words indistinct] and others paid attention and quite rightly too, that over the recent period of time, over the last decade, the most important [words indistinct] is that the movement of the former president's supporters has not only been disclosed, but brought to light. I can say also that it has been beaten, morally, psychologically, physically, and militarily as well. The task must be finished, and it may take more than a day or two, but I am repeating that this is the largest destructive force for Georgian society, our state.

We must not underestimate these events. I am declaring to everyone that this stage can be called historic, an historic gain for our people and country. I am not talking only about an attempted coup, everybody knows that they were aimed at the authorities; a dark and black force was coming. Such an assessment has been heard several times; it was fascism, real fascism. No matter how we approach and embellish this event, it is fascism [word indistinct] Fighting this force....[pauses] If we finish this task, it will be a task for our people and country. Many things still need to be clarified. You know well what our attitude was like. Many argued with us that such pitifulness and forgiveness, etc., was wrong and these rebukes may have grounds. The authorities knew many things and [words indistinct] Now, I think that what this black force is guilty of must be talked about to draw relevant conclusions and for the lesson to be learned by everybody. Everything, from the day it emerged. There may happen... [pauses] We may face some cataclysms. If not our generation, then future generations, and it must be a lesson for every generation—what calamity and tragedy may result when such a force arrives.

Lawful assessment must be given after a full-scale investigation, which the acting procurator-general was talking about. This event must be politically assessed as a black force. It must be an objective political assessment and must stand the test of the time. We must eradicate the ideology and the practice of this provincial fascism, this black force. It must be eradicated.

I would not have talked so specifically and strictly about it and not have spent so much time on it, had it not been for an attempt from quite serious politicians, our current authorities, some members of parliament as well, at a lack of assessment of the danger which this force posed and is still posing.

You know what role this movement played in connection with Abkhazia. I am repeating with all responsibility, if we had had a backbone, we would not have lost Abkhazia. That is the truth, and the war would have ended much earlier and in an appropriate way. Many people do not want to talk about it, they are displeased. But when we are talking about politics, serious politics, it does not matter whether you are pleased or not, a fact remains a fact. A fact is an event and an event must be given its name.

I have already said that Batoni Kakubava, with whom we were all fighting in Abkhazia and whom we obviously respect, said that over the last two months since the introduction of the state of emergency, the authorities had not budged to assist Abkhazia and resolve the Abkhaz issue. It is a lie; it is a slander. I consider the defeat of this black force and our victory in west Georgia, in the Imereti rayons, in Samegrelo—a victory of light and order—to be the key basis for resolving the Abkhaz issue. Those who fail to see it must not be talking about politics at all.

Defense Minister Gia Karkarashvili made a speech and gave figures that 16 tanks....[pauses] It has 16 other tanks in the woods now, 30 tanks, modern tanks, even more APC's and guns, more than the Georgian Army had or has now. This is how this force was armed. This is how this force was advancing on Tbilisi and Kutaisi, advancing on Georgia.

We know very well who helped and supported it. I do not know....[pauses] I think that the word, traitor, in all cases was established by this force. Can there be a bigger betrayal of one's own country and homeland? That is why I think that everything must be clarified. [words indistinct] it is our shame, our state's shame. How could it get hold of tanks and arms? How did it happen? Who helped them? Who supplied this dirty and black force? Everything must be clarified. It is not by a sheer chance that I am raising this issue, nobody can clarify everything but us: investigators of the procurator's office, the Security Ministry, operational officials, investigators and operational officials of the Interior Ministry and local experts. Of course, everything within the limits of the law.

It must also be clarified as to what material and financial abilities Georgia's black force was relying on. How did all this happen? What sums had been taken out to Grozny and other towns and by what means? If all this does not get clarified, it will be a sin, and the current authorities cannot take the responsibility before the future generations. Everything must be clarified, the truth must be told. [passage omitted]

But there is still a long way to go to political stability. We must reckon with it and take it into account in our work. [passage omitted]

One danger has been overcome, but now there is such an attempt....[pauses] The country is facing hardship. Every family is living in hardship, probably 5 or 10 percent has no big hardships, but the rest have hardship. Something

may get started on the waves of half-hardship and hardship. Pay attention to TV addresses, TV programs, addresses of some politicians—continuous threats that a social explosion is about to happen now, a social explosion. Let me tell you, do not try to threaten me. I must also say that our people are 10 an 100 times wiser than all of us politicians; our people will not be persuaded by them if we work honestly, all of us. They will not be persuaded, because people know very well what can be done and what cannot be done. People know very well why the country has reached this condition, the condition of cold and hunger. [passage omitted]

People know very well why a social explosion will happen and to what end. It must happen to oust the present authorities and replace them with other authorities.

I have said thousands of times that stepping down is no problem at all for the current authorities, but name who could take power and we shall applaud you. Go and govern the country. If you cannot do it, then we must work in a slightly different manner. We must all work together, think together about how to overcome this crisis and not how to embitter and anger each other. We must get together, do what we can and as well as we can. We must work together to save the country and establish order.

I cannot help mentioning that the interim emergency committee which was set up carried out [word indistinct] work led by Batoni Jaba. I think that you know why such a committee was created in the first place and why its composition was specific: those people who were the most intransigent and those who had the right and wanted to fight against this disaster, because the former [president] and his supporters' movement was and still remains the most dangerous one. I think there will still be time to analyze the work that has been carried out. [passage omitted] [break in transmission]

The whole of the town got on its feet, the Kutaisi population got on its feet when the plague had to be fought and a mobilization was necessary. People will follow you with more enthusiasm and support. This is the key to everything.

The country and its economy will not revive and we will not escape the danger of hunger and we cannot be in care of others for a long time if the situation does not become healthier.

Sometimes I feel ashamed to meet and talk with my foreign colleagues. The world's great businessmen and bankers are ready to come and resolve together with us the problems which are worrying us. But believe me, there will be no business in Georgia unless there is order. It is out of the question. [passage omitted: cites surprise at opening of US-Georgian bank in Tbilisi, bravery of American partners, possibility of foreign currency entering Georgia if highways were safe]

Is it really that we, sitting here, our colleagues, brothers-in-arms, thousands of people....[pauses] Let us say and

decide to save the country and establish order on the highways. It is not a very difficult problem. I want to declare and support those who have voiced this. Do not let me see anybody on the highways except the police. Of course, it is true that bandits and thieves are among the police as well, but it will be easier to establish order within one system. [passage omitted]

I am ashamed to visit Turkey. I was to visit three months ago. At the moment it is very necessary for me to go and I am ashamed, because they are on the verge of writing to us [words indistinct] that either we establish some basic order or else our economic cooperation cannot continue. I cannot describe to you what helpless state the country has found itself in as a result of these events. It is a disaster; it is recklessness.

It is a pity that Batoni Kviraia [interior minister] is not here today. I think that the Interior Ministry's extended collegium should convene tomorrow and discuss the issue of highways. It will be good if Batoni Jaba [Ioseliani] takes part and I will also be present if possible. We must work out a scheme which will allow only the police to be on the highways.

By showing certain faith in the Interior Ministry, there are forces which can carry out their immediate task; I do not think that there are angels in the whole of the system but there is a certain base. [passage omitted]

We support business. I am going to meet businessmen before too long, genuine businessmen, those on whom Georgia's fate depends. But this is not business, it is banditry, the people who became rich disguised as businessmen. Three drivers became billionaires in a year. What business do the Tatishvilis know, either the first, the second or the third [brother]? The people who had power had given them everything to make it. It must be rooted out. Then there will be no more talks in the streets, like the Tatishvilis shall not forgive it. They can tell it to those who have weak nerves and whose knees are wobbly. One may accuse these authorities of many things, but not of cowardice.

For order in customs, we have appointed Batoni Lortkipanidze. Having certain hopes, I am asking you to establish order in customs in the next month; use the police and the security [forces]. We shall stand by you and assist you. Customs must make up half, if not more, of Georgia's budget; all the way from Sarpi to Tsiteli Khidi, from the Psou River to the Jvari crossing and maybe farther up. An ideal order should be established at the places where there are customs offices. So, Viktor, you must either die or do it. As we do not want you to die, you will have to do it. [passage omitted]

A visiting Azerbaijani delegation asked us one thing: They said that they needed our help, because the echo of whatever was happening in Dmanisi and Marneuli had reached them. They even promised to give us arms and assist us in every way, but asked us to establish order, so that it was orderly with them and they were unhindered.

I told them to go and see for themselves [words indistinct]. The [Azerbaijan] secretary of state, a woman, went together with several ministers and said they would figure out themselves what was going on there.

We are not the kind of nation that harasses other nations. Whatever has happened in our recent history should all be gone. We must put an end to it. Today, of all times, it is not respectable. Everything that is happening in Dmanisi, Bolnisi, and Marneuli has become known: the number of kidnapped men and women, raped women, robberies, lootings. A whole clan has been created and I am not afraid of talking about these things. I know that it is being broadcast on TV; let them listen to me. I am telling them that they will not get away with it. It cannot be like this. Take up a spade and a hoe, think of something else. One must not go on living like this. [passage omitted]

The same kind of gangs exist in the Kazbegi Rayon. I am not saying that it is the native population, maybe some native people are assisting them. [word indistinct] They are the so-called touring bandits, the same in Zestafoni and other regions. Even in Racha, where before there wasn't any crime at all, a narcotics mafia has been created, and other rayons as well. I cannot give you the list of all rayons. I am telling you this because we are aware of what is happening. What we started in Mtskheta is not the end. So therefore, do not let anybody devastate themselves; give up looting and destroying your own country, your own state, while there still is time.

Now a few words about corruption. When speaking about corruption, we should know that it starts from above. [words indistinct] This task has been assigned to the Interior Ministry. The security system is also developing as necessary. It is not accidental that we have sent to the United States. [sentence as heard] They will also cooperate with respective services in Russia. This service, as well as the police, will be equipped with everything necessary to expose people involved in accepting bribes, extortion, and banditry. I assure you that in the near future our police and security will no longer be so weak. We will do it. However, these services will not be able to do anything alone. It is necessary for the cabinet of ministers, the head of state's office, the control chamber, and many others to get ready for the task. Much will depend on how they do it.

Over now to the subject of rather heated debate in parliament, which is what is said to be a wrong, or to put more mildly, liberal credit allocation policy. Some checks have already been carried out. The result of these checks—some people want to slam through an open door—the result of these checks is that the president of the National Bank has been dismissed and [words indistinct] When I read the documents, I understood that things should be brought to a logical conclusion, which is impossible without an investigation. I had thought this would have been discussed today. Perhaps they want to report to me some time later. An investigation has

started. I have charged the Security Ministry, the Interior Ministry, and the prosecutor general with the task of conducting the [word indistinct] investigation which will establish what has happened in the banking system. When I was convinced that there had been irregularities....[pauses] who is behind these irregularities? I assure you that again the answer is political forces. Some of these are former, others are present, and still others are future political forces. Once again political forces are responsible.

I appeal to you, the ministries, their leaders, and everybody who will work on this, to call everything and everybody by their proper names, be it the head of state or the prime minister, who has issued up to 20 decrees. I am not saying that this was necessarily an offense, but neither the prime minister nor the head of state has the right to issue such decrees. There are also my resolutions there, as well as the resolutions signed by others. Everything must be called by its proper name. I call on the members of parliament, who are too nervous about it, to calm down a little and wait until the investigation establishes who is really guilty and who is not, and whether those were criminal combinations or usual banking operations. Market conditions permit banking operations, including combinations, banking combinations. This is how it works all over the world. When everything is established, the public and parliament will be told the truth. Therefore, the struggle against corruption also requires special attention.

Another acute problem is establishing order in places where armed forces are deployed. It has already been said that this is a crucial issue. I demand that during the next seven days the defense minister and the interior minister submit for approval to the commander in chief and head of state a chart of places where armed forces are deployed. I must know where every unit is deployed and whether it is necessary to have it there. As Levan Tediashvili [Shevardnadze's plenipotentiary representative in the eastern region of Kakheti] said today, there are 14 military formations in Telavi Rayon. Are they expecting an invasion of Telavi or what? There may be one or two formations in the center of Kakheti, but they should be registered and approved by the commander in chief of the armed forces. I demand this categorically. They both are to deliver a report at the next meeting outlining what has been done to fulfill this order.

There is a problem of armed people in general. We may have to take up arms again; however, there is no need for so many weapons and so many armed men. Unless order is established in this sphere, we will be in trouble. Upon whom does it depend? To a certain extent it depends on me as commander in chief. I will also write in my order that it depends on the defense minister, Mr. Karkarashvili, and the interior minister, Mr. Kviraia. Also, since the majority of the Mkhedrioni are part of the Rescue Corps—naturally, they would not have been able to settle all issues since their return from the west—it will also depend on Gela Gelashvili. I do not know if he is present today. He is a brilliant young man who leads the

Rescue Corps. These are the people on whom it will depend. If there is no improvement before the next meeting, I will say that so far all these respected figures have not been able to perform their duties as necessary.

At the same time, it has been said here quite rightly that despite the fact that the Prosecutor's Office has to play a certain role in it, the main burden of law enforcement must of course be borne by the Interior Ministry. As Batoni Niko [not further identified] said in his speech today, it is an anomaly that bakeries are now being protected by the Army. It is a disaster. There has already been a clash between the Army and police, rather between some individuals in the Army and police, in which people were killed. Incidents worse than this may occur in the future.

I am grateful to the Defense Ministry for establishing relative order in the last 10 days. Another five days or a week will probably be necessary. However, it cannot go on like this for long. Therefore, the city police must be ready—I do not know why Zeikidze [Tbilisi police chief] is not here—to become the only body enforcing order in the city. Only the city police, no one else. Of course, under emergency conditions, it should be done alongside and in cooperation with the commandant's office.

One more thing. Terrorism has become a serious threat. People do not understand what terrorism is. Some people think that shooting a leader is terrorism. Terrorism has a broader meaning, and it is a broader phenomenon. It is a serious phenomenon. [words indistinct] I think that it is up to the police, the entire Interior and Security Ministries and the ministers to (?solve) terrorist acts [words indistinct] and prevent them in the future.

There has been another attempted attack on Batoni Jaba's car, an attempt on his life. There has been an attack on the defense minister. There has also been an attempted attack on the security minister's helicopter near Poti. The [Tbilisi] city prosecutor was assassinated. Two days ago, the director of a tobacco factory was killed in Tbilisi. It is a matter of your prestige to solve these crimes. Though difficult this may be, such crimes must be prevented.

Officials who are entitled to security protection must have it, as it is in all countries. In this respect, we are in the state of anarchy. I have made a decision, issued a decree regarding officials entitled to security protection. It may be submitted to parliament in the future. There are about 10 such people. This also means that others should not have security protection. [words indistinct] The defense minister, the prosecutor (?general) must be protected by the state. What happens now is that people who have no position in the state structures are accompanied by very large groups [of bodyguards]. This is impermissible.

Take some party leaders. If it is necessary to protect their lives, and probably it is necessary, they should first apply for such protection and the state will do everything that

is necessary. Armed groups under parties...[pauses] If you wish to have armed groups, this must be declared appropriately and they will be brought into the state structures. Let us see if they will then still obey you or not. What is happening is impermissible.

My attitude to this party [National Democratic Party] was not bad in the past and it is not bad now. However, it has decided to express a protest [over the decision to join the CIS] by withdrawing its armed group from Khoni. The following day an attack started on Khoni. Can we act depending on whether we like a decision or not? No, we cannot.

There must be one sort of order in the country that must be respected by everyone. First of all, there should be order within the Armed Forces. Parties arming themselves will lead to the country's death.

Your remark, Vasha [not further identified], was right this time. Name them. I would like to tell Batoni Jemal [not further identified] and others that you must name them. Everybody knows perfectly well—at least, this is what I am told—the groups' locations and sizes, where their camps are, where they keep their weapons. Are not you telling me this?

This must be said. [words indistinct] truth is what the country needs from you today. This truth may save hundreds and thousands of people. This is why I demand that Mikeladze and not only him but also Avto Ioseliani report at the next meeting what individual parties have at their disposal. They know the situation very well. I am sure that after I leave this podium, Ioseliani will speak and name those that have armed groups. This will be an example of bravery which the country needs. This must be said to avoid more trouble and [word indistinct].

Friends, police chiefs. With your assistance and the assistance of security bodies, we must put an end to the scourge called kidnapping. What you report makes up only 5 percent of what is happening, only 5 percent. I know of many instances of the kidnapping of children and adults and I am well aware what kind of ransom is demanded. Sometimes no amount of money in the world is enough to have a person back. I think that either order must be restored in this sphere. [passage omitted]

Someone has introduced the principle claiming that the police should be neutral and that the security forces should be neutral. Who needs neutral police and security? Police and security, as well as the prosecutor's office, must serve the state and do what the government that appointed them wants. I do not understand this notion of neutrality. That is why it is impossible to speak about two or three posts and about hopes that someone will emerge. [sentence as heard] [words indistinct] Georgia will have a government elected by the people. Police must serve such a government and state. That is why those who occupy two posts should get rid of one of them [words indistinct]. This applies not only to politics. Indeed, this does not apply to politics in the first instance.

If we are to be successful in work, we must of course turn to the press and television. I regret that Archil Gogelia [Georgian TV head] is not here today. Nor is the Sakinformi [GIA news agency] leader here. I cannot see the editors of newspapers. There are no editors of newspapers who are hostile toward the authorities. None of them are here. Everybody knew about today's meeting.

Nothing will be achieved, unless the press and television (?change) and genuine public opinion is formed to help us in our struggle for order. [words indistinct] When it comes to defending their country, prestige, the interests of their president....[pauses] You remember the preelection campaign, how they protected the draft constitution and so on. You know how often Zhirinovskiy appears on TV. I do not think it was accidental either. Everything was calculated and prepared. You remember how they defended (?Yeltsin) prior to 3 and 4 October and what kind of work they carried out before each of the referendums.

Compare this with our television. I have always embraced our television, but I must say that it is rather primitive. It is not only a matter of equipment. I have recently used very bitter words about the press and television, something I did not say before. It was the first day of bread rationing in Tbilisi. Many of my colleagues would know that I was struggling for six months. Had we switched to bread rationing six or even three months ago, we would not have been getting 300 g of bread per day per person, but everything would have been prepared for everyone to receive half a kilo of bread. [passage omitted]

Do not do it this way, brothers. If you live in this country and if you want it to be saved, apart from noticing filth and shortcomings, which is of course necessary, you must also notice anything that gives a glimmer of hope,

a slight improvement, a kind deed, even if it comes from the authorities. I do not have the top authorities in mind, but the city authorities. [passage omitted]

I appeal to the press and television. If you believe that establishing order will mean saving the country, then let us all work together to encourage people who are struggling for order, so that they can feel some human warmth from the press and television. If they do not, then the truth must be told about them.

I will also tell you, that the press and television have in fact let, and are still letting, events unfolding in Georgia pass unnoticed. That is with the exception of a few cases, when they were with me, or sometimes they would come across Batoni Jaba Ioseliani and some others. In other instances....[pauses] The speech delivered by Givi Lominadze [state minister, head of the western Georgia emergency committee] alone would be enough to compile 10 programs. The new leaders have now come to power. Has anybody noticed how they started work? What are the difficulties facing them? What steps have been made? These people watch everything. You know what I was told in Samegrelo? Thank God, we can now receive Georgian television. For as much as six, seven months or more, it was not possible to receive Georgian television in Zugdidi. Is it fun to (?look all the time) at one man [reference to Gamsakhurdia], be it the most favorite man or an angel? They have just started to breathe freely. Shouldn't these people know that Georgia is taking care of them and that it lives their lives?

That is why I appeal to everyone to get involved in the struggle for order and the salvation of the country not through their words but through their deeds. Then the country will be saved.

Thank you.

Estonia

Meri Comments on Visits Abroad

LD1012213393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1712 GMT 10 Dec 93

[By Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin, edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] President Lennart Meri has highly assessed the results of his talks with the leaders of Turkey, Jordan and Kuwait. He visited those countries at the invitation of their heads of state.

At his news conference on Thursday Lennart Meri paid particular attention to the political dialogue with Turkey.

"Like ourselves, Turkey has followed Russia's latest foreign policy with concern," he said. "At the meeting with the Turkish President, Suleyman Demirel, Russia's intention to assume a peace-keeping mission in the space of the former USSR was considered as its striving to revive a modernized colonial empire," the Estonian president said.

At the same time Turkey and Estonia support Russia's democratic forces, Meri said.

According to the president, during his tour he paid considerable attention to the development of Estonia's economic ties with the Near and Middle Eastern countries. For instance, Estonia and Jordan expressed their desire to cooperate in power engineering. Kuwait is willing to give aid in building an oil terminal in the port of Muuga near Tallinn, and its specialists will arrive in Estonia shortly.

During his visit a treaty on friendship and cooperation between Estonia and Turkey was signed. In the next few days Estonian officials will fly to Ankara to work out agreements on the ways to avoid double taxation, on reciprocal protection of investment and on cooperation in tourism.

Latvia

Birkavs Says Latvia Does Not Need Skrunda

LD1012190893 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1800 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] The Skrunda radar station is not necessary to Latvia, and its (?site) in Latvia must be (?rebuilt). This was said today at a news conference by Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs after visiting Skrunda. Skrunda is a (?part) of Europe, and as long as this military site is in Latvia, we will be in the Russian sphere of influence, the prime minister stressed. Nor are the six years that are claimed to be necessary for the dismantling and rebuilding of the radar station an acceptable period for Latvia.

For their part, (Smirnov), a representative of the headquarters of the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense and member of the Russian delegation in talks with Latvia, predicted that this site will be redeployed to Belarus, but this will not be done in less than six years. The danger that the Skrunda station creates an electromagnetic (?field has been exaggerated).

No Agreement Reached

LD1012230193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 10 Dec 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Virtually the entire Latvian cabinet visited the space observation center at Skrunda today. After familiarizing himself with the facility, Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs gave a brief news conference at which he said he does not agree with Russia's desire to keep the radar station for six years.

[Yakovlev] The strategic facility for Russia's antimissile defense system—the radar station near Skrunda—is becoming increasingly more open. It has been visited by American specialists, international observers, the president of Latvia, deputies, ministers, and journalists.

Russia has proposed to Latvia that troop withdrawal be speeded up but that the Skrunda radar station be kept temporarily until a similar facility for guaranteeing Russia's security is built on its territory. The Latvian side has not responded with a clear-cut no, but so far no agreement has been reached. Talks are getting bogged down. Passions are heated on the issue of the Skrunda radar station. People are frightened by the station and they point out the threat to Latvia's security and ecology. The Russian military are convinced that exclusively political motives are behind the press campaign. They are prepared to give any commission exhaustive information, cite facts and figures and objective results of an investigation which show the station's safety.

The next round of talks at which the fate of the Skrunda radar station may be decided begins in Moscow 20 December.

[Announcer] While meeting the population of Skrunda town, Latvian Foreign Minister Andrejevs admitted that Latvia has not received international support for its demands that the radar station be withdrawn as soon as possible. A diplomat at the talks with Russia thinks the sides should find a compromise.

Delegation Head on Baltics Policy Priority

LD1112164993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] A parliamentary-government delegation from Ukraine has visited Latvia for the first time in the years of the independence of the two states, at the invitation of the [Latvian] Foreign Affairs Commission. Dmytro Pavlychko [Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Commission

chairman], head of Ukraine's delegation, emphasized in an interview for journalists that official Kiev views Latvia and the other Baltic countries as one of the priorities of its foreign policy. Considerable interest in this regard was shown in the initiative once expressed by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk on creating a zone of stability and security in Central and Eastern Europe. The Ukrainian delegation left Latvia for neighboring Lithuania.

Lithuania

LDDP Urges Prevention of Illegal Arms Trade

WS1312093993 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 25 Nov 93 No. 229 p 2

[Appeal by the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party (LDDP) Seimas faction]

[Text] Dear people of Lithuania!

Lithuania has many firearms accumulated today. Every secluded corner, larger edge of a forest, or a base are full of explosives and cartridges buried there by the recently withdrawn foreign Army. A pistol, a grenade, and even a machine-gun are becoming common market commodities. Unfortunately, some of the soldiers and officers of free Lithuania are participating in this trade.

Cruelty and violence threaten the homes of peaceful residents. Accidents and premeditated murders, children's dangerous games, and clashes between organized criminals—everything has interwoven into one big group of misfortunes taking away new victims each day; this must be stopped.

We appeal to all citizens, parents, and teachers in Lithuania—observe your children, do not allow them to bring home or to school any suspicious military items or play with such things.

We appeal to each soldier and officer, each official of the police and the Prosecutor's Office—prevent the illegal arms trade, and keep watch of the arms entrusted to you by the state.

We suggest that the Lithuanian president issue a decree obliging all residents of Lithuania to return illegally kept firearms and explosives, and that the law be enforced on those who will not comply with this requirement until a set deadline.

We also appeal to other Seimas [parliament] members to immediately adopt a law allowing an honest and virtuous citizen to acquire firearms for his or her personal protection or that of their families.

Dear people of Lithuania! It is by rallying all the community's attention and intolerance to crime that we will be able to overcome the greatest evil of our days—the armed war of criminals against our freedom, work, and creation!

[Signed] LDDP faction.

Ambassador Criticizes Delegation Disbandment

LD1012194893 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] Ambassador at large Česlovas Stankevičius critically assessed the decision to disband the delegation for negotiations with Russia. According to him, the decision was made recently in Moscow and now implemented in a decree by President Algirdas Brazauskas.

Mr. Stankevičius claims that the Delegation for negotiations with Russia which continued to work for two years until last September consistently defended Lithuania's rights and vital interests. I have become convinced that the present Lithuanian authorities are beginning to implement a policy consolidating Russia's interests. Relations between the two states are being ever more transformed into the affairs of ministries and departments, Mr. Česlovas Stankevičius said.

According to him, high-ranking Lithuanian officials are already accustoming the public to the idea that it is possible to legalize Russia's military transit to the Kaliningrad region and allow the Russian air force to use Lithuania's air space, transfer to partial Russian ownership Lithuania's main pipelines and important enterprises. Mr. Stankevičius says he can only assess these plans as being contrary to Lithuania's vital interests and its security, as indulgence to another state which has dangerous intentions.

These were quotes from a statement by Česlovas Stankevičius made public today.

Agreement on Russian Military Pensioners

LD1012192293 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Russian 1300 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] The newspaper EKHO LITVY published today an agreement signed by the prime ministers of Lithuania and Russia on the order of social guarantees to the military pensioners of the Russian Federation permanently residing in Lithuania.

This document provides for the Russian military pensioners permanently residing in Lithuania, who are not citizens of the Lithuanian Republic, to enjoy all rights—including property rights—granted in accordance with the Lithuanian law to foreigners permanently residing in Lithuania. The agreement came into force on 18 November of this year.

Ukrainians Seek Economic, Political Ties

LD1012184593 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] A Ukrainian parliamentary delegation is paying an official visit to Lithuania. Dmytro Pavlychko is chairman of the foreign affairs commission of the Ukrainian parliament:

[Begin recording] [Pavlychko in Ukrainian with superimposed Lithuanian translation] We want to inform the leaders of the Lithuanian Parliament and of the executive structures about the situation in our country, to discuss concrete steps in the rapprochement of our states, and to plan future meetings at a higher level. We have established that we are understood here. We feel that we have common interests.

[Unidentified correspondent] In what areas do you envision cooperation between Lithuania and Ukraine?

[Pavlychko] Above all, in the economic sphere. It is very important to us. We must develop this cooperation. I think about cooperation in the political sphere, too. We can no longer ignore what is happening in other countries. The Baltic countries, including Lithuania, play an important part in all the areas of European policy. Ukraine would like to have closer contacts with them. We plan to set up a zone of stability between the Black and the Baltic seas and would like to realise this idea. [end recording]